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LIFE OF PAUL JONES.





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LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

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# LIFE

## OF

# PAUL JONES.

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### CHAPTER XI.

Jones finds the *Serapis* at L'Orient. — Proposes Repairs on the Alliance, and the Purchase of the *Serapis*. — Franklin remonstrates against the Expense. — Entreats Jones to practise Economy. — Orders the Alliance to prepare to return Home. — Arms to be transported to America. — Jones's Promise of Frugality, — His Mode of keeping his Promise. — Alterations in the Alliance. — Jones is charged with Enmity to the French. — Defends Himself from the Charge. — Landais obtains Leave to return to America. — Proceeds to L'Orient. — Asks the Command of the Alliance. — Reply of Franklin. — Intrigue of Arthur Lée to place Landais in Command. — Discontent of the Crew about Prize-Money. — Fate of Prizes in Norway. — Disposal of other Prizes. — Jones visits Paris. — Flattering Reception. — Contemporary Account of Paul Jones.

ON the arrival of the *Alliance* at L'Orient, Jones found the *Serapis* in the harbour. The *Countess of Scarborough* had put into Dunkirk, where she remained until sold. Jones wrote immediately to Dr. Franklin to report his arrival and the events of his cruise; he also entered into a detailed statement of the

condition of the *Alliance*, and of the repairs which would be necessary to enable her to proceed on another cruise. He stated, that on her passage from Boston to Brest she had broached to, while scudding before a gale of wind, and had been nearly lost. In that situation a sea had struck her with such force on the cut-water, as to wrench it considerably to one side. When she was hove down, on her arrival, Captain Landais had satisfied himself with ordering the part which projected to be dubbed away, instead of having it got back into its place and properly secured. Afterwards, when he had abandoned the *Richard* on the coast of Ireland, he had steered his ship in the trough of the sea, which had not only strained the ship very much, generally, but loosened the cut-water again. In order to repair this damage Jones was desirous of heaving the ship out, and asked leave at the same time to sheathe her with copper. She also required new sails and rigging. In the same letter Jones expressed an ardent wish that the *Serapis* should become the property of the United States.



In reply, Franklin told him, that the *Alliance* could not possibly be repaired at the expense of the French court, in whose service she had been cruising ; especially, since the damages which she had sustained were attributed by Jones more to the negligence and incompetence of Captain Landais, than to the accidents of the cruise. The whole expense, therefore, would have to fall on him, as the agent of the American government ; and he said that he was ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected demands upon him from all quarters. The Sage resorted to humble entreaty to moderate Jones's passion for what, to a government having a flourishing exchequer, would doubtless have been a judicious expenditure. "I therefore beg," he wrote, "you would have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing that you can possibly do without. As to sheathing with copper, it is totally out of the question. I am not authorized to do it, if I had money ; and I have not money for it, if I had orders. The purchase of the *Serapis* is in the same predicament."

Franklin had determined to despatch the *Alliance* to the United States, and he expressed a wish that Jones should take fifteen thousand stands of arms, which he hoped to obtain from the French government, and also one hundred and twenty bales of cloth, for the army, if he could find room for it. He mentioned several persons who were desirous of taking passage with him to America, and expressed the hope that Jones would be able to accommodate them. Among the number was Mr. Arthur Lee, formerly one of the American Commissioners at Paris, before the recognition of our independence by France, and the appointment of Dr. Franklin as our minister. The connexion of this gentleman with the *Alliance* was destined to be a source of the greatest possible annoyance to Jones, of insult to Dr. Franklin, and of injury to the public service. Franklin urged Jones to make his preparations with the least possible delay, and acquaint him when he was ready for sea, that he might forward his despatches.

Jones expressed his readiness, in reply, to meet the wishes of the Minister. "I feel

your reasons," he wrote, "for urging frugality; and, as I have not hitherto been among the most extravagant servants of America, so you may depend on it my regard for you will make me particularly nice in my present situation. It will give me very great pleasure to be able to carry to America the supplies of arms and clothing you mention, and I hope to be able to cram a great part, if not the whole, into the *Alliance*. I will pay the most cheerful regard to the accommodation of the four gentlemen that you mention as passengers. I hope they will agree together, and I shall be happy in showing them attentions."

It would seem, that, notwithstanding Jones's promises to have mercy on Franklin's exchequer, and observe frugality, his desire to improve the *Alliance*, which under other circumstances would have been so commendable, must have betrayed him into considerable expenditure. In his answer to various interrogatories, made to him by a Committee of Congress, on his return to the United States, having for their object to ascertain the causes which delayed the arrival of the arms and cloth,

anxiously expected for the army from France, he made a very long list of the defects of the *Alliance*, which he had remedied in refitting her at L'Orient. "The bowsprit," he said, "was too long, ran out too much in a horizontal line, and was loose. The topmasts, yards, and rigging were large enough for a sixty-gun ship, and the tops were so ill made, and so narrow, as to give the masts no proper support. It is impossible to imagine a worse arrangement than that of the store-rooms. They were divided and subdivided into little closets, nooks, and winding passages, and instead of being adapted to contain the ship's stores, appeared only fit to lodge dirt, and increase the quantity of rats, already immense. The magazine was not only inconvenient, but very insecure from fire. There was no fit orlop for the cables, and the sail-room could contain, at most, only one of the spare courses. The deck was burnt through under the hearth, and the bottom of the copper burnt out. Many obstructions of useless hatchways were in the way of the recoil of the guns; and the gangways were so ill contrived, as neither to afford

a convenient passage from the quarter-deck to the fore-castle, nor cover the men at the guns in the waist. The mizzen-mast stood too close to the main-mast. The ship was very crank, plunged very deep in a head sea, and could neither work nor sail as a frigate. I began to put that ship in order immediately on taking command ; and, after my arrival at L'Orient, the essential repairs were finished early in April, by the crew of the ship and four or five American carpenters. The materials of the old arrangement did not fall much short of finishing the new. Judges have allowed, that when the business was finished every thing about that frigate was perfect. I know not what was the amount of the disbursements."

No doubt the amount of the disbursements was sufficient to distress Dr. Franklin, if not to disturb his equanimity. These extensive alterations, at the moment, were the more injudicious as they deferred the period of the ship's readiness to proceed to the United States, where they could have been so much more cheaply made, and where her coming,



with the supplies for the army, was so anxiously expected by General Washington. As to the particular alterations themselves, apart from these circumstances, they were eminently judicious and expedient, as well as indicative of Jones's high qualifications as an accomplished seaman. It is a little remarkable, too, that many of the defects which Jones corrected in the *Alliance* are still found in our ships of war at the present day ; such as the drooping bowsprit, the excessive dimensions and weights of masts and yards, the stepping of the mizzen-mast too far forward, and the defective arrangement of the sail and store-rooms. With regard to the useless hatchways on board of the *Alliance*, of which he complains, we have now passed to the other extreme, and, with the view of leaving abundant space for working the guns, and of shifting them from side to side, our ships have not now sufficient hatches to let the men up rapidly from below, and furnish light and ventilation to the lower deck.

In his intercourse with society at L'Orient, Jones found that an opinion prevailed there,

that his feelings towards the French people were of an unfriendly character. The opinion had its origin probably in the indignant manner in which he had rejected the French commission to command a privateer, which had been offered to him by M. de Sartine, towards the close of his stay in the Texel. It was in his nature to give way to very strong expressions in conversation on the same subject. Perhaps, also, Frenchmen might have been found to vindicate the imaginary wrongs of their countryman, the miserable Landais. There must have been something plausible about the appearance or manners of the individual. This only will account for the important command which had been intrusted to him, and for his having found the means, when covered with merited disgrace, to propitiate friends of some sort. Be it as it may, Jones thought it necessary to enter into a labored vindication of his feelings towards France in letters, which he wrote almost immediately after his arrival at L'Orient, to Lafayette and the Duke de la Vauguyon.

In his letter to Lafayette he gives the fol-

lowing summary of his political faith. "I am a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of country or of climate, which diminish or set bounds to the benevolence of the heart. Impelled by principles of gratitude and philanthropy, I drew my sword at the beginning of the American revolution, and, when France so nobly espoused that great cause, no individual felt the obligation with truer gratitude than myself. When the Court of France soon after invited me to remain for a time in Europe, I considered myself as highly honored by the application that was made to the American commissioners. Since that time I have been, at every instant, and still am, ready to do my utmost for the good of the common cause of France and America. As an American officer, and as a man, I affectionately love and respect the character and nation of France, and hope the alliance with America may last for ever. I greatly love and esteem his most Christian Majesty, as the great ally of America, the best of kings, and the amiable friend and 'protector of the rights of human nature';



therefore he has very few of his own subjects who would bleed in his present cause with greater freedom than myself, and none who are more disinterested. At the same time, I lament the calamities of war, and wish, above all things, for an honorable, happy, and lasting peace." These were no doubt the honest sentiments of Jones's heart, and, making due allowance for the slang of the day about universal philanthropy, which Jones perhaps felt more strongly than most who talked about it, were creditable to his character.

About this time, Landais applied to Dr. Franklin for leave to proceed to the United States, in order to be tried on the charges which had been preferred against him, for his conduct in the battle with the *Serapis*. The leave was granted to him and money advanced to pay his passage to the United States. He moreover applied to Dr. Franklin for an order to Jones, to deliver up some trunks and other effects, said to have been left by him on board the *Alliance*. There could have been no necessity for this, as Jones had no motive for retaining any thing belonging to him.

Still Franklin wrote to state the demand which Landais had made, and took occasion to speak of him as follows. "I find him so exceedingly captious and critical, and so apt to misconstrue, as an intended injustice, every expression in a language which he does not understand, that I am tired of writing any thing for him or about him, and am determined to have nothing farther to do with him. I make no doubt, however, that you will deliver his things to any person he may empower to receive them, and therefore think such an order unnecessary."

Furnished with this pretext for withdrawing himself from under the surveillance of the French government, Landais wrote to obtain a passage to the United States, in the American ship *Luzerne*, then about to sail from L'Orient under convoy of the *Alliance*, and soon after proceeded to that place with the ostensible object of recovering his effects and embarking. When at L'Orient, however, his ulterior object soon manifested itself to be the recovery of the command of the *Alliance*. On the 17th of March he wrote to

Franklin, requesting his opinion with regard to himself, and asking to be reinstated in the command which had been conferred upon him by Congress.

The reply of the Sage showed, that he could sometimes be stern in his justice. “No one ever learned the opinion I formed of you from inquiry made into your conduct. I kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America, because I would not hazard giving to any one a bias to your prejudice. By communicating a part of that opinion privately to you I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it, if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you then, so imprudent, so litigious, and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are, where you preside, impossible. These are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to more capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war in my disposition, I should not

give one of them to Captain Landais. The same temper which excluded him from the French marine, would weigh equally with me. Of course I should not replace him in the *Alliance*."

Unfortunately for Captain Landais, and still more unfortunately for the country which had most unwisely called him to its service, he had not the rare gift of seeing himself as others saw him. His good opinion of himself was overweening. He determined, if possible, to recover by intrigue the station which was refused to him by the competent authority. In attaining this object he was encouraged and abetted by Mr. Arthur Lee, who had come down to L'Orient to take passage in the *Alliance*. This gentleman probably bore a secret resentment against Jones for the spirited but just remonstrance, which he had addressed to him when in the command of the *Ranger*, on the subject of dishonoring his draft to meet necessary expenditures, and fomenting discontent among his crew. He was also annoyed at Jones's unwillingness to receive his carriage and an unusual quantity of

baggage on board of the *Alliance*, to the necessary exclusion of some of the military stores, which Dr. Franklin was so anxious to ship by her, to meet the urgent wants of Washington's army. His jealousy, moreover, of Franklin made Landais respectable in his eyes, because the Sage despised him, and induced him, with the other motives we have mentioned, to lend a secret but successful aid in driving Jones out of the *Alliance*, to make room for Landais. By what extremely insidious means this was effected will be seen hereafter.

Early in April the repairs and improvements of the *Alliance* were completed, and most of the military stores intended for the army, including fifteen thousand muskets and one hundred thousand pounds of powder, were already embarked. The battery of twenty-eight eighteen, and twelve nine-pounders, which Jones had contracted to have cast at Angoulême the year before, for the *Bon Homme Richard*, but which had only arrived at L'Orient after her departure, was also taken on board. A cartel had arrived with American



prisoners, in exchange for those whom Jones had retained on board of the *Alliance*, and many of them having entered for that ship, added to the strength and efficiency of her crew. She was, therefore, ready to sail, and Franklin was desirous that she should depart forthwith, in company with a large convoy which was about to put to sea. The officers and men of the *Alliance* were, however, very anxious to receive their prize-money, for the captures during the late cruise, before putting to sea. Jones shared their feelings on his own account, and was, moreover, desirous as their commander, that they should be gratified in their reasonable request, which he urged unremittingly in his letters to the Minister. Franklin exerted himself to attain this object, which was surrounded with many difficulties.

With regard to the two armed ships *Betsey* and *Union*, each mounting twenty-two guns, and having on board military and naval stores on the account of the British government, valued together at not less than forty thousand pounds sterling, we have seen that they were sent by Landais, without authority from Jones,

to Bergen in Norway, where they had arrived on the 13th of the previous September, in charge of two officers of the *Alliance*. The French consular agent in that port had orders from his government to render the same service to American vessels and their prizes as to those of France. An attempt was made to sell the prizes, which was vehemently opposed by the British Consul. Soon after, these vessels were given up to him, on his demand, by order of the Danish government, on the ground, that it did not recognise the independence of the United States. The Danish government was justified in refusing to allow the sale of these prizes within its ports; but there was no color of justice in delivering them up to their original owners. It might have ordered them to put to sea; and would scarcely have impeded them had they attempted to do so; but Landais had given no orders to the prize-masters, except to take them to Bergen, and the French Consul wanted the discretion and energy to do quickly what the circumstances rendered necessary. These valuable prizes were therefore lost to the captors.

In the case of the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, the French government proposed to value them in the usual way, and purchase them into the service. Franklin approved of this arrangement; but as it would require time to carry it into effect, he proposed, that if it should not be effected before the *Alliance* was ready for sea, she should not wait. As, however, the crew of the *Alliance* might require some supplies for the voyage, he authorized Jones in this case to draw upon him for twenty-four thousand livres to be advanced to them, but enjoined upon him not to exceed that sum.

The crew of the *Alliance* would probably have been very well satisfied with this project, had they not, as Dr. Franklin states in his reply to a question, proposed to him by the Board of Admiralty, “been encouraged by some meddling passengers to persist. The King would have taken the prizes and paid for them at the rate per gun, which he pays for warlike vessels taken by his ships, but they raised a clamor at this, it being put into their heads, that it was a project for cheating



them, and they demanded a sale by auction. The Minister, who usually gives more when ships are taken for the King, than they will produce by auction, readily consented to this when I asked it of him ; but then this method required time to have it inventoried and advertised in different ports to create a fuller concurrence of buyers."

From Jones's answer to a committee of Congress, as to the cause of the long detention of the *Alliance*, we learn, that among the "meddling passengers" engaged in the bad design of exciting discontent and mutiny among the crew of the *Alliance*, foremost stood the quondam commissioner, Mr. Arthur Lee, who endeavoured to persuade them that they had been sailing with Jones in a privateer, and that they would be detained in Europe during the war, and get nothing at last. "I found it impossible," he says, "to reason them into good humor, so as to go to sea ; they positively declared they would not weigh anchor till they were fully paid, and wrote to this effect to Mr. Franklin." In consequence of these difficulties, Jones determined, in an evil

hour, to make a visit to Paris, with the hope of being able, by his personal exertions, to urge forward the sale of the prizes, and the distribution among his officers and men of their share of the proceeds. He was urged to pursue this course by most of the Americans waiting at L'Orient to take passage in the *Alliance*, or under her convoy. Mr. Arthur Lee was no doubt among the most urgent in counselling this measure, as it left him a clearer field to set in motion the various springs of intrigue, that were necessary to fulfil his favorite project of defeating the measures of Dr. Franklin, and mortifying Jones, by depriving him of the command of the *Alliance*, to bestow it on the degraded Landais. Nor can Jones himself be freed from all blame, for abandoning his ship at this critical moment. The desire to accelerate the sale of his prizes was his main, as it was his ostensible, motive. He was, doubtless, also influenced in no small degree by the wish to appear once more, surrounded with the brighter halo of glory, conferred by his recent achievement, at that court where he had already been so graciously re-

ceived, and of tasting again the intoxicating pleasure of being praised by fair and high-born lips. It was a hero's weakness, and if he had not possessed it in such an eminent degree, he might also have failed to carry so far the love of desperate enterprise which has rendered his name so celebrated.

Paul Jones arrived in Paris towards the middle of April, and immediately accompanied Dr. Franklin to wait upon the Minister of Marine, M. de Sartine. In one part of his correspondence, Jones says, the minister "gave us a reception as cold as ice, did not say to me a civil word, nor even ask me if my health had not suffered from my wounds, and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone. The public did me more justice than the minister, and I owe to the King alone the flattering marks of distinction with which I was honored." In his answers to the committee of Congress, in whose eyes he had no disposition to disparage either his own brilliant deeds or the estimation in which they were held in other lands, he makes a very different statement. "Mr. Franklin went with me to the minister,

who, contrary to my expectations, gave me the most friendly welcome, and sent immediate orders to publish the inventories, and advertise the sale of all the prizes." Contradictions of this character occur not unfrequently in Jones's correspondence. He was betrayed into them by the fervor with which he thought and felt, on occasions when his pride and vanity were interested, and the strong terms in which he habitually expressed himself. It is certain, at any rate, that his wishes were promptly complied with, for the sale of the prizes, and the proper orders issued. He readily obtained the loan of the *Ariel*, of twenty guns, to assist the *Alliance* in transporting the military stores, then ready at L'Orient, to be forwarded to the army under Washington. His reception by the King was also most flattering, and from the court as well as the public, enthusiastic. He himself states, that "he was received in Paris, as well as in other parts of the kingdom, with flattering applause. Both the great and learned sought his acquaintance and honored him with particular marks of friendship. At court, he

was always received with a kindness which could only have arisen from a fixed esteem."

Nor were the fair backward in offering to our hero the homage which none so willingly render to the brave. A chivalrous devotion to the gentler sex formed part of his character. He appears to have spoken French with some fluency, and to have had a strong natural taste for music and poetry, irregularly cultivated in those hours of leisure at sea, which his occupations left him. His desire to please, assisted by the reputation won for him by his heroism, and perhaps the very distinction which must have been perceptible between his untutored devotion, and the more regulated approaches of court-bred admirers, doubtless gave a peculiar piquancy to his manners. At any rate, he is known to have so far improved his acquaintance with many distinguished ladies of the court, as subsequently to be found corresponding with them. Perhaps to one of his scribbling propensities, and whose peculiar position as a hero and a stranger, placed him in a class by himself, not much excuse or encouragement was required



to justify the opening of a correspondence. Among those who thus honored him with their friendship, were Madame T——, a daughter of Louis the Fifteenth, and a lady of rank, Madame la Presidente D'Ormoy, and the Countess de Lavendahl. With the first of these ladies, who is believed to be the person with whom he long corresponded, under the name of Delia, his friendship seems to have passed the bounds of the platonic. The letters of Delia indicate the most passionate and devoted love, and a readiness to give up every thing for its object.

Some letters written by an English lady, residing at Versailles, went the rounds of the English press, at this period. In one of them the proceedings of our hero are thus chronicled. “The famous Paul Jones dines and sups here often ; he is a smart man of thirty-six, speaks but little French, appears to be an extraordinary genius, a poet as well as hero ; a few days ago he wrote some verses, extempore, of which I send you a copy. He is greatly admired here, especially by the ladies, who are wild for love of him ; but he adores

the Countess of Lavendahl, who has honored him with every mark of politeness and distinction." The verses are after this fashion.

"Insulted freedom bled ; I felt her cause,  
And drew my sword to vindicate her laws,  
From principle, and not from vain applause.  
I've done my best ; self-interest far apart,  
And self-reproach a stranger to any heart,  
My zeal still prompts, ambitious to pursue  
The foe, ye fair ! of liberty and you ;  
Grateful for praise, spontaneous and unbought,  
A generous people's love not meanly sought ;  
To merit this, and bend the knee to beauty,  
Shall be my earliest and latest duty."

In a subsequent letter the subject was thus resumed by the fair correspondent. We introduce here, what she adds, though somewhat out of date, in order not to leave the fair fame of his lady-love, even for a few pages, under any injurious imputation. "Since my last, Paul Jones drank tea and supped here. If I am in love with him, for love I may die. I have as many rivals as there are ladies ; but the most formidable is still Lady Lavendahl, who possesses all his heart. This lady is of high rank and virtue, very sensible,

good natured, and affable. Besides this, she is possessed of youth, beauty, and wit, and every other female accomplishment. He is gone I suppose for America. They correspond, and his letters are replete with elegance, sentiment, and delicacy. She drew his picture,\* a striking likeness, and wrote some lines under it, which are much admired, and presented it to him. Since he received it, he says, he is, like a second Narcissus, in love with his own resemblance ; to be sure, he is the most agreeable sea-wolf one would wish to meet with."

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\* Now in possession of Lieutenant Pinkham, U. S. N., to whom it was recently presented by Miss Janette Taylor, niece of Paul Jones.



## CHAPTER XII.

Proceedings on Board the Alliance. — Letter of the Officers to Dr. Franklin about Prize-money. — Mutinous Demand of the Crew for the Restoration of Landais. — They express a favorable Opinion of his Qualifications. — Franklin's noble Reply. — Warning Order to Landais. — The King offers Jones the Cross of Military Merit. — Also a gold Sword. — Jones returns to L'Orient. — Instructions from Franklin. — Mutiny on Board the Alliance. — Landais takes the Command. — A legal Exposition by Arthur Lee. — Its artful Character. — Mr. Lee's Jealousy of Dr. Franklin. — Jones proceeds to Paris. — Returns to L'Orient. — The Alliance removes out of Port. — Jones prevents her being stopped. — Applies for the Serapis. — Takes Command of the Ariel. — Further Vagaries of Landais. — He sails.

WHILST, however, our hero remained at court, basking in the sunshine of royal favor, caressed by courtiers and smiled upon by the fair, every thing on board the *Alliance*, his proper scene of action, was going to destruction. Scarcely had Jones's back been turned upon his ship, when Mr. Arthur Lee began to set his schemes in motion for the overthrow of Franklin's views, and Jones's authority on board the *Alliance*. The effect was first manifested in a letter to Franklin, of the 12th of April, signed by the officers of the *Alliance*,

expressing their alarm at not receiving either wages or prize-money, when the ship was so nearly ready to sail. Franklin replied, that he had already advanced twenty-four thousand livres, for the immediate wants of the officers and crew, on account of their wages, the bulk of which they must as usual receive in the United States, at the time of their discharge. With regard to the prize-money, he had nothing to do with its distribution, which remained with the agent, M. Chaumont. In consequence of having been repeatedly informed, that the proposed method of selling the prizes to government by a valuation in the usual manner, had excited discontent among the officers and crew, he had procured the consent of government to their being sold at auction; though he was of opinion, that the method first proposed would have been more for their interest. The plan now adopted, in conformity with their wishes, would still require time, unless the prizes were to be sacrificed.

By the 29th of May the schemes were so far matured, that Landais wrote on that day

to Franklin, to inform him, that since his application of the 17th of March, to be replaced in command of the *Alliance*, he had been waiting patiently for his orders to that effect ; thus utterly disregarding Franklin's positive refusal to comply with his request, coupled with his cogent reasons for it, and the humiliating assurance, that if he had the disposal of twenty ships of war he "would not give one of them to Captain Landais." With this new application Landais now enclosed to Franklin a mutinous letter, which he had procured to be written and signed by one hundred and fifteen of the crew of the *Alliance*, "declaring that they would not raise the anchor, nor sail from L'Orient, till they had six months' wages paid to them, and the utmost farthing of their prize-money, including the ships sent into Norway, and until their legal captain, P. Landais, was restored to them." The evidence of Landais's participation in this mutiny was rendered manifest, not only by his enclosing it, but also by the fact of his name being interlined, with his own hand, being in fact his signature.

It was rumored on board the *Alliance*, that Jones had been backward in demanding justice for his officers and crew, from those functionaries who were heaping honors on himself; and that he not only neglected those by whose exertions he had achieved his glory, but had fraudulently joined M. de Chaumont in withholding from them their just rights. Though the notorious disagreement between Jones and M. de Chaumont rendered this fabrication eminently absurd, it so far influenced fourteen of the original officers of the *Alliance* as to induce them to join in a letter to Dr. Franklin, in which they expressed the belief, that the ship's crew was unanimously in favor of Captain Landais. They also gave it as their opinion, that he was a capable officer, whose conduct off Scarborough had been misrepresented to his disadvantage. They moreover considered themselves bound to obey him as their legal captain, according to the rules and regulations of the navy. These fourteen officers were evidently, from Franklin's answer, among those who had originally belonged to the *Alliance*, and who, having

shared her dishonor in the battle with the *Serapis*, were thus forced into sympathy with their commander, and excited to hatred against the chief who had denounced their conduct as it deserved. Their interpretation of navy regulations was aided by the legal acumen of Mr. Lee, who had been very profuse and urgent with his opinions in the same sense.

Franklin's reply to this disgraceful document does equal credit to his justice, his kindness, and his ingenuity. It was eminently suited to soothe and restore them to a sense of duty and honor; but it was addressed to unworthy ears, and perverted by malignant influences. The Sage expressed no little surprise, that the officers of the *Alliance*, having a year before made complaints against Landais, coupled with the statement from him, that they were all leagued against him, should now wish to be placed again under his command. "I have related," he says, "exactly to Congress the manner of his leaving the ship, and though I declined any judgment of his manœuvres in the fight, I have given it as my opinion, after examining the affair, that it



was not at all likely, either that he should have given orders to fire into the *Bon Homme Richard*, or that his officers should have obeyed such an order had it been given them. Thus I have taken what care I could of your honor in that particular. You will, therefore, excuse me if I am a little concerned for it in another. If it should come to be publicly known, that you had the strongest aversion to Captain Landais, who had used you basely, and that it is only since the last year's cruise, and the appointment of Commodore Jones to the command, that you request to be again under your old captain, I fear suspicions and reflections may be thrown upon you by the world, as if this change of sentiment may have arisen from your observation during the cruise, that Captain Jones loved close fighting, that Captain Landais was skilful in keeping out of harm's way, and that you, therefore, thought yourselves safer with the latter. For myself, I believe you to be brave men and lovers of your country and its glorious cause; and I am persuaded you have only been ill-advised, and misled by the artful and mali-

cious representations of some persons I guess at. Take in good part this counsel from an old man who is your friend. Go home peaceably with your ship. Do your duty faithfully and cheerfully. Behave respectfully to your commander, and I am persuaded he will do the same to you. Thus you will not only be happier in your voyage, but recommend yourselves to the future favors of Congress and of your country."

On the same day he wrote to Landais, expressing his astonishment, that he should be still at L'Orient, when he had supposed him long before on the way to America to be tried, for which purpose he had furnished him with money to defray his expenses. With regard to his application for the command of the *Alliance*, he thus briefly replied. "I waive any further dispute with you; but I charge you not to meddle with the command, or create any disturbance on board her, as you will answer the contrary at your peril."

In the mean time, Jones, having heard of the intrigues that were going on at L'Orient; for the overthrow of his authority on board



of the *Alliance*, prepared to depart for that place, and actually set out on the last day of May, probably without having yet heard of the mutinous demands which the crew had addressed to Dr. Franklin. In taking leave of the court he was careful to fortify himself for his return to America, by ample vouchers of the high character of the services which he had rendered to the common cause of France and America. They consisted of a brief but strong recommendation from Franklin to the President of Congress, given at the solicitation of Jones, as is apparent from the following passage ; “I cheerfully comply with his request, in recommending him to the notice of Congress, and to your Excellency’s protection, though his actions are more effectual recommendations, and render any from me unnecessary :” also of a letter from M. de Sartine, to the same gentleman, stating that the King had charged him to express his perfect satisfaction with Jones’s services. “He has offered,” the letter states, “as a proof of his esteem to present him with a sword, which cannot be placed in better hands, and likewise pro-

poses to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the Cross of Military Merit." It further stated, in the sequel, "If, after having approved of the conduct of the Commodore, it should be thought proper to give him the command of any new expedition to Europe, his Majesty will receive him again with pleasure, and presumes that Congress will oppose nothing that may be judged expedient to secure the success of his enterprises." In this clause, written no doubt at Jones's suggestion, we see the dawning already of a new hope for active employment on the enemy's coast. In addition to these honorable testimonials, M. de Sartine wrote to Jones himself, accompanying a packet for the French Minister in the United States, which contained the cross of the Order of Military Merit, with which Jones was to be invested if Congress consented. "But, at any rate," he wrote, "that you should have a proof of the King's approbation and munificence, his Majesty has ordered a gold-headed sword to be made for you, which will be immediately delivered to you, and he has the greatest confidence in the use you

will make of it for his glory, and that of the United States.”

When Franklin received the letter in which Landais informed him that he was patiently waiting for his orders, to resume the command of the *Alliance*, accompanied by the letter of the fourteen officers of the *Alliance*, giving their opinion that the crew was unanimously in his favor, that he was a capable officer, whose conduct, in the battle off Scarborough, had been misrepresented, and that he was their legal captain, whom they felt bound by the regulations of the service to obey; as well as by the mutinous demand of the one hundred and fifteen seamen of the *Alliance*, that their wages and prize-money should be paid, and their legal Captain, P. Landais, restored to them before they would put to sea; Jones had already arrived at L'Orient. To that place Franklin immediately wrote to him, informing him of the nature of these various communications, and of the measures which he had adopted in consequence. He had gone at once to the government and exhibited the documents, which produced an immediate or-

der to the authorities at L'Orient for the arrest of Landais, to be tried for his life, as an emigrant without the King's permission, and, as such, subject to be punished for his misdemeanor, by the laws of France. Franklin directed that those sailors who had signed the mutinous letter, should not receive any portion of the money which it was proposed to advance before the departure of the *Alliance*, on account of the prizes, and that all such as were unwilling to trust to their country to see justice done to them, should be put on shore to await the sale of the prizes, at their own expense. Franklin ended his letter with the following pithy advice: "You are likely to have great trouble. I wish you well through it. You have shown your abilities in fighting; you have now an opportunity of showing the other necessary part, in the character of a great chief, your abilities in policy."

Before this pithy, though not very encouraging, advice was received, together with the government order for the imprisonment of Landais, and the salutary admonition of the officers who had signed the approbatory let-

ter in his favor, the affair had already been brought to a crisis and terminated in the ejectment of Jones and the installation of Landais in the command of the *Alliance*. Immediately on his arrival from court, Jones prosecuted his preparations to depart with the *Alliance* and *Ariel*, which had now been added to his command, in order to complete the transportation of the military stores, intended for the army. Several American vessels, having cargoes to the amount of two millions of livres, were ready to sail under his convoy.

Jones had gone on board of the *Alliance*, as usual, in the prosecution of his duty, and had always been respectfully received and met with a ready obedience. Having, however, heard that his authority to command the *Alliance* had been called in question, and being now perhaps first informed of the letters written by Landais, and by the officers and the crew to Franklin, having for their object to displace him, he, on the morning of the 13th of June, mustered his crew upon the quarter-deck, and caused his commission to be read aloud to them, together with the order from



Franklin, while in the *Texel*, to take command of the *Alliance*, and a more recent order to carry her to Philadelphia, to which port he had been directed to send her by the board of Admiralty. After reading those documents, he addressed the crew, inculcating upon them their obligations, and urging them to the faithful performance of their duty. He asked, in conclusion, that whoever had any complaint to make against him should now step forward. No reply being made, Jones took it for granted that there was nothing to fear from insubordination, and soon after went on shore to confer with the commander of the arsenal, with regard to the equipment of the *Ariel*.

As soon as Jones landed, Landais despatched a letter to Mr. James Dégges, the first lieutenant of the *Alliance*, directing him to retain the command of the ship from any one who should attempt to assume it, contrary to the resolution of Congress, by which it had been intrusted to him, until he should receive a favorable answer from Dr. Franklin, which he thought could not be denied to him, unless he

had an order from Congress to remove him. On the receipt of the expected order, he would repair on board to resume the command. When Lieutenant Degges had received this letter, he mustered the crew and read it to them. He had, no doubt, been prepared for this act of insubordination, by the constitutional commentaries of Mr. Lee, which, together with the insinuations as to Jones's betrayal, had not been thrown away on the crew. They declared at once for Landais, who, opportunely arriving at this crisis, without waiting for the order from Dr. Franklin, to resume the command, which he knew never would arrive, walked over the side and took possession of the ship. Lieutenant Dale and the other officers who had come with Jones from the *Richard*, had not been called up to take part in these proceedings, their dinner hour having been fixed upon for the execution of the plot. Aroused by the cheers, they came upon deck, and found Landais parading up and down, in the presence of the officers and crew, with his commission in his hand, and haranguing them in broken English.



They were all sent ashore with little ceremony.

As both a key and commentary to this transaction, and what has gone before it, we are here tempted to insert a letter from Mr. Arthur Lee, of this very date, a copy of which, no doubt, came into the possession of Landais this very day, to serve as authority for the step which he was taking.

“ Sir, — When you showed me yesterday the authorities, under which you conceive you have a right to command the *Alliance* frigate, I told you it was not in my power to give you an opinion upon them without seeing those of Captain Landais ; and that I would not give an opinion in this matter but in writing. Since that, I have seen the authorities of Captain Landais, and I now shall state them both, with my opinion upon them ; which I hope may be of use in preventing any further contest, which cannot but be disgraceful and injurious to the service, as well as to those who are in the wrong.

“ The authorities you showed me consisted of a commission of Congress, appointing you

a captain in the marine of the United States, and a late order from Dr. Franklin to you to take command of the *Alliance*, and carry her where she is ordered by the Admiralty. This order from Dr. Franklin does not recite or allege any power from Congress to take the command from Captain Landais, and put another in his place.

“The authorities Captain Landais laid before me, were a commission from Congress, like yours, appointing him captain in the service ; a resolve of Congress, giving him the command of the *Alliance* frigate ; and a letter of instructions for that purpose, from the Marine Committee.

“From these documents it is clear, beyond a possibility of doubt, that Captain Landais commands that ship, under the full, direct, and express order of Congress ; and that no such authority appears, to dismiss him from the command. In this situation, Captain Landais must answer at his peril for the frigate intrusted to him, till he receives an order of Congress to deliver her to another. If any such order exists, those who have it do infi-

nite wrong to the service in not producing it, to prevent any disturbance. If there is no such order, the subjects of the United States, who attempt to divest Captain Landais of the command he holds from the sovereign power, or to disturb him by violence in the exercise of it, commit a high crime against the laws and sovereignty of the United States, and subject themselves to proportionate punishment.

“This, Sir, is my opinion, founded upon a cool and candid consideration of the authorities on both sides ; which alone ought to determine our judgments and our actions. You are at liberty to show this letter to whom you please, or to send it to Dr. Franklin. Should it prevail upon you to urge this matter no further, till you know whether there is authority of Congress for what you are doing, I shall think I have rendered no less service to you personally, in preventing you from committing a rash and illegal action, than to the public, the honor of which must be committed by such a contest in a foreign port. When I see such things threatened, my duty to my coun-

try, and the love of law and order, call upon me to do whatever is in my power to prevent them."

This is an able letter, but its ability, exercised as it was for the mischievous perversion of truth, and in violation of the interests of the country, only renders it the more reprehensible. Mr. Lee knew, better than any one, that the *Alliance* had been placed at the disposal of Dr. Franklin, who represented our country, with full powers, for the purpose of forwarding the great object of annoying England. For this object she had been put under the orders of Jones. Her commander had wilfully disobeyed these orders on various occasions. In battle he had basely deserted his duty and station, and, adding treachery to desertion, had fired upon the flag which he served under, and killed many of the citizens of the United States, boldly avowing afterwards, that he would have thought it no harm if the *Richard* had struck, as it would have given him an opportunity to retake her and take the *Serapis*. For these offences, Dr. Franklin had removed him from the command

of the *Alliance*, and conferred it on Jones. Landais had acquiesced in this removal, had solicited leave to proceed to the United States for trial, and obtained money to pay his expenses. Jones had been seven months in the command of the *Alliance*. None of these facts are noticed in Mr. Lee's letter. Under these circumstances, his affected horror of disturbance, his apprehension of the disgrace and injury which it was likely to reflect on the country, his pretension to a cool and candid consideration of the circumstances, when he had left the most essential ones unadverted to, and, finally, his claim to render a service to Jones personally, by inducing him to abstain from what he considered rash and illegal, make this letter very unworthy of Mr. Lee, and of the real services, which his genius, learning, and enthusiastic love of liberty had already enabled him to render to the cause of his country.

It is not easy to account very satisfactorily for Mr. Lee's course in this transaction. Several reasons may be assigned, none of which are very creditable. He had had a difficulty



the year before with Jones, in which the conduct of the latter had been more spirited than respectful. It would seem also, from a letter written by Jones to Robert Morris, at this time, that he had objected to the space which Mr. Lee's baggage, carriage, and family would occupy in the *Alliance*, if taken to the exclusion of the soldiers' clothing, so much needed by the army. In this letter he says, "I found the *Alliance* at the entrance of Port Louis, and every necessary disposition was made to stop her from going out ; but my humanity would not suffer me to remain a silent witness of bloodshed, between the allied subjects of France and America. My having prevented that scene of horror, has been no small disappointment to the wicked hearts and empty heads of Captain Landais's principal advisers. One of these two would-be great men will now have his carriage, baggage, and family transported from hence in the space on board the *Alliance*, that should have been occupied by the soldiers' clothing ; while the red-ribbed Commodore has taken advantage of the confusion, and inveigled away from the conti-

mental service a number of seamen, that I had redeemed from English dungeons, and fed for three months on board the *Alliance*, in order to man the *Ariel*."

The red-ribboned Commodore, here spoken of, was Commodore Gillon, an officer in the service of South Carolina, who had been sent out by that State to purchase and equip men-of-war for the defence of its own coasts. By a singular arrangement made with an influential courtier, who had procured from the King the loan of the *Indien*, Gillon had got possession of that ship which Jones had been so ambitious of commanding. If Jones was at the time aware of this arrangement, it must have added no little poignancy to his resentment against Gillon, for aiding in the intrigues which had driven him from the *Alliance*, and enticing away his sailors to man a ship, which had been withheld from him after so many promises. As for the ruling motive of Mr. Lee's conduct, it is, perhaps, more truly unfolded in the sequel of the same letter; and certainly is not well suited to commend his memory to the veneration of the American people.



It will be remembered, that Mr. Lee had been associated with Franklin and Deane, as a commissioner, previous to the recognition of our independence by France. When, in consequence of that event, Franklin was invested with the sole control of our relations as minister, Mr. Lee continued Commissioner to Spain, which country he had already visited in that capacity. He hoped to have been made minister to that court, but Congress appointed Mr. Jay, from the belief that he would be more acceptable to Spain, and more useful to the country. This rendered Mr. Lee exceedingly discontented. He had been, while a member of the English bar, before the Revolution, associated with Dr. Franklin, as the agent of Massachusetts, with power to take Dr. Franklin's place, in the event of his absence or death. At that time he frequently aspersed Dr. Franklin in his correspondence, and impeached the purity of his motives. When Mr. Lee was associated in the commission to France, as a reward for the distinguished services which he had already rendered to the American cause, a disagreement

grew up between Mr. Lee and Mr. Deane, which afterwards extended itself to Dr. Franklin. A recapitulation of these facts gives a color of probability to Jones's mode of accounting for Mr. Lee's interference.

“I am convinced that Mr. Lee has acted in this manner, merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, the wise, and good Franklin, whose heart, as well as head, does and will always do honor to human nature. I know the great and good, in this kingdom, better perhaps than any other American, who has appeared in Europe since the treaty of alliance, and if my testimony could add any thing to Franklin's reputation, I could witness the universal veneration and esteem with which his name inspires all ranks, not only at Versailles and all over this kingdom, but also in Spain and Holland. And I can add from the testimony of the first characters of other nations, that, with them, envy itself is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned.”

On the very afternoon of the mutiny, Jones, after consulting with the French Ad-

miral, with whom he was dining at the time, wrote by express to Franklin, relating the circumstances which had taken place. In the course of this letter he mentioned what had occurred in the morning, when he had asked the crew at muster, whether any of them could speak a word to his disadvantage, and they answered they could not. He wrote, "I am certain that the people love and would readily obey me." The proofs they had given of this love were very extraordinary, to be sure, but even if it did not exist at all, except in the imagination of Jones, or perhaps only in his letter, it would have been far more honorable to Jones, as well as more to his interest, if he really wished to recover the command, to have gone at once on board of the *Alliance* with his officers, as soon as he heard that Landais had taken possession of her. There could scarcely have been any open opposition from the officers and crew, and from the relative conduct of the two chiefs in battle, we cannot but think that Landais would have quailed beneath his eye. If he had ventured upon personal violence,

Jones, being in the right, would not have been blamable for the consequences. From evidence of the circumstances, the conclusion is irresistible, either that Jones behaved weakly in yielding his right, and abandoning the post to which duty bound him, or, which is more likely, that he was not particularly anxious to retain the command of the *Alliance*, and leave France.

Instead of encountering the "scene," with Landais, which he told the French commander he was desirous of avoiding, though it would probably have been of very short duration, Jones immediately followed his express to court. He found that orders had already been despatched to L'Orient to detain the *Alliance* and arrest Landais. Franklin had also written to Landais and the officers of the *Alliance*, commanding them to yield obedience to his orders. He had also written to Jones that, having been informed by several gentlemen from L'Orient, that it was understood there that the mutiny on board of the *Alliance* had been advised and promoted by Mr. Arthur Lee, whom he had ordered Jones to re-

ceive as a passenger, that order was so far withdrawn as to leave it to Jones's discretion, whether to take him or not. He said that this need not obstruct Mr. Lee's return to America, as he might exchange places with some of the passengers on board the ships going out under convoy of the *Alliance*.

Having been absent rather more than six days, including nearly two that he spent at Versailles, Jones found himself again at L'Orient, on his return from his fruitless errand, on the morning of the 20th of June. He found that during the preceding night, the *Alliance* had been warped from the inner roads to Port Louis. There was still a narrow strait, enclosed by rocks and commanded by batteries, which it was necessary for her to pass before she would be in the outer roads of Groix. The commander of the port had caused a barrier to be moved across the narrow entrance to Port Louis, and given orders to sink the *Alliance* if she should attempt to pass it. The French commander now sent a boat on board with an officer bearing the King's order, for the arrest of Landais.



He refused to surrender himself. The letters from Franklin to Landais, and to the officers and men of the *Alliance*, containing his positive orders for their submission, were then delivered. They were equally disregarded.

At this conjuncture, Jones, having his ship completely in his power, with the certainty of being able to reduce her to terms, interfered to have the order to fire upon her if she should attempt to pass, revoked, and the barrier removed from before the strait. He took great credit to himself for this forbearance. In writing to Franklin, on the 21st, he says: "Had I even remained silent an hour longer the dreadful work would have been done. Your humanity will, I know, justify the part I acted, in preventing a scene that would have rendered me miserable for the rest of my life." Few commanders would have ventured, in the presence of enemies, and with the clearest justice on their side, to attempt this hazardous and necessarily murderous passage. The crew of the *Alliance*, accustomed as they were to mutiny, would not have hesitated to repeat for the third time the scene which they had



first enacted with Landais, on the passage from America. Jones must have known his man sufficiently to be convinced, in his own mind, that there would have been no "dreadful work" at all. The commandant called his chief officers together, and they signed a paper setting forth the preparations which had been made to stop the *Alliance*, and their great admiration of Jones's magnanimity, in causing them to be suspended. This paper was too clearly got up at Jones's suggestion. Throughout the whole of his career he evinces the same passion for fortifying himself with affidavits and certificates. Meanwhile Jones had his certificate, and Landais, what he equally appreciated, the mouth of the harbour open for his egress. He quietly warped his ship through the narrow passage between the rocks, and cast anchor in the open roads of Groix.

In evidence that Jones was not earnest in carrying out, with singleness of purpose, Franklin's ardent and patriotic desire, that he should put to sea without delay in the *Alliance*, with the military stores so urgently re-

quired by Washington, we find him, by the next post after that in which he had advised Franklin of the circumstances attending the withdrawal of the ship from under the control of the authorities, and of the fate of the King's letter of arrest, and of his own orders, urging the expediency of procuring the loan of the *Serapis*. That ship had just been purchased by the King, for two hundred and forty thousand livres. Upwards of five hundred tons of public stores yet remained to be shipped for America. The *Ariel* would not be able to carry the whole of it, and Jones's new project was to fit the *Serapis* out to carry the remainder, arming her for the purpose as a transport, whilst the *Ariel* should accompany her as a cruiser. He hoped to be able to obtain from the *Alliance*, and from among the American seamen in the port, a sufficient number of men to man both ships. On his arrival in the United States, the *Serapis* could be fitted as a cruiser, and, together with the *Ariel*, and such other ships as he hoped Congress would be ready to place under his command, carry out some one of the projects for

the annoyance of the enemy, which he had so often submitted to the French government.

Such was the new scheme which Jones produced, with a readiness which showed that he must have long meditated on it. He had originally given up the command of the *Serapis* with reluctance and mortification. He was desirous to take her to America with him in any shape, in order to exhibit her as a trophy won by his valor, and thus to make more present to men's minds, the reality of his achievement. Franklin's reception of this scheme was far from being encouraging. His answer betrays some dissatisfaction with the efforts of Jones, to recover the command of the *Alliance*. He had not received Jones's letter of the 21st of June, and he wrote: "I only know by other means, that the *Alliance* is gone out of the port; and that you are not likely to recover, and have relinquished, the command of her. So that affair is over; and the business is now to get the goods out as well as we can. I am perfectly bewildered with the different schemes that have been proposed to me for this purpose, by Mr. Wil-

liams, Mr. Ross, yourself, and M. de Chaumont. Mr. Williams was for purchasing ships; I told him I had not the money, but he still urges it. You and Mr. Ross propose borrowing the *Ariel*; I joined in the application for that ship. We obtained her. She was to convey all that the *Alliance* could not take. Now you find her insufficient. An additional ship has already been asked, and could not be obtained. I think, therefore, it will be best that you take as much into the *Ariel* as you can, and depart with it. For the rest, I must apply to the government, to contrive some means of transporting it in their own ships. This is my present opinion; and when I have once got rid of this business, no consideration shall tempt me to meddle again with such matters, as I never understood them." Franklin terminated his correspondence on this subject, by directing the commanding officer of the *Alliance*, for the time being, to take on board all the military stores that were ready, and deliver them at Philadelphia.

Meantime Landais being completely beyond the control of Jones, the latter kept up upon

him, from on shore, a brisk discharge of orders, which he received with studied contempt. This discharge was begun, on the same day that the ship warped out into the outer roads, by an order carried by Lieutenant Dale, for the delivery of some seamen required for the *Ariel*, together with his own baggage, stores, and barge. An "impertinent note" was Landais's only reply to the order. It does not appear, whether Jones's effects came on shore on this occasion. When they did come on shore, his trunks were broken open, his papers scattered, and many of his effects missing. Not discouraged by this reception, he wrote again on the 28th, ordering Landais not to sail without his instructions, and in the mean time to send eighty of his best riggers on shore, with all the carpenters, to assist in equipping the *Ariel*. Mr. M. Livingston was charged with this letter, Lieutenant Dale having probably been too much disgusted with his previous reception to desire to repeat his visit. Landais answered briefly. "I send the under-named people on shore, being such as I do not find necessary for the service of the



United States of America, on board this ship ; if you have any authority for taking them, you will do it." The names of twenty-two men were added below. On the following day Jones wrote to say, that the boat was sent back for the remainder of the men mentioned in his order of the previous day. Landais ordered the officer bearing the letter to remain in the boat alongside of the *Alliance*, and hold the letter open towards him. Having made out the contents, he ordered him to be gone. The *Alliance* soon after sailed, carrying away, in irons, in her hold, many of the old crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who adhered to Jones, and refused to assist in getting under way.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Equipment of the *Ariel*. — Correspondence. — Jones receives the Sword presented by the King. — Offers to intrust it to a Lady. — Addresses the Count of Vergennes. — Unaccountable Delay in the Departure of the *Ariel*. — One Month passed in the Roads of Groix. — Puts to Sea. — Dreadful Hurricane. — Critical Situation of the *Ariel*. — Anchors in the open Ocean. — Masts cut away. — Rides out the Gale. — Jury-Masts rigged. — Returns to L'Orient. — Effects of the Gale. — Correspondence resumed. — Application for a larger Ship. — Is rejected. — News of Landais's Disgrace. — Delay of the *Ariel*. — Prize-Money not paid. — *Ariel* puts to Sea. — Encounter with an English Ship. — Enemy strikes. — Afterwards escapes. — *Ariel* arrives at Philadelphia.

THE month of July seems to have been less employed by Jones in urgent efforts to get off in the *Ariel*, with part of the residue of the military stores, than in corresponding with Madame T——, Madame Lafayette, Madame d'Ormy, and such other ladies connected with the court as he had contrived, in his various visits to Paris, to interest in his fortunes. He entertained them with accounts of his past achievements, complaints against Messrs. de Chaumont, Lee, and Landais, and new schemes for expeditions against the ports and commerce of England, in the course of

which, if sent forth unshackled by any "*concordat*," or "sage deliberation" of "colleagues," he hoped yet to strike a blow against the common enemy, "that should resound throughout the universe."

Early in July, Jones received the sword which the King had ordered to be presented to him. It was mounted in gold, and bore on the blade, surrounded by the blended emblems of America and France, the following inscription: "VINDICATI MARIS LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR STRENUO VINDICI." Within a few days after the reception of this sword we find Jones addressing the Countess de Lavendahl, and begging her to become the depository of it. He thus gives his reasons for the request. "I hold the sword in too high estimation to risk its being taken by the enemy; and therefore propose to deposit it in the care of a friend. None can be more worthy of that sacred deposit than you, Madam; and if you will do me the honor to be its guardian, I shall esteem myself under an additional obligation to deserve your riband, and to prove myself worthy of the title of your

knight." The lady declined accepting the charge. She had taken some umbrage at a previous letter which he had written to her, sending a lock of his hair, and expressing his regret that he could not send even his heart. She had intimated to him, that his letter must have been misdirected, and begged leave to introduce him to the Count, her husband, who was passing through L'Orient, with the request, that he would show him every civility in his power.

In reply to the letter, in which the lady declined accepting the guardianship of the sword, Jones thus expressed himself: "I am sorry that you have found it necessary to refuse me the honor of accepting the deposit mentioned in my last, but am determined to follow your advice, and be myself its guardian. A day or two before I wrote to you last, I had received a challenge from Sir James Wallace, who, in the *Nonesuch*, a ship of the line, copper-bottomed, and of superior swiftness, declared he waited in sight for my departure. Had I commanded an equal force, I hope you will believe I would have employed

my time otherwise than in writing you any proposition for the safety of a weapon, that I should have hoped to use immediately with success." \*

On the 2d of August, Jones addressed himself directly to Count de Vergennes, the Prime Minister, informing him that he was nearly ready to sail for the United States, and telling him how happy he should be to carry with him to Congress the interest of the French government for his promotion, and especially its request that he might be constantly employed, with a sufficient force, in such enterprises as might be best suited to distress the

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\* This sword was sent by Jones's heirs to his valued friend, Robert Morris, to whose favor he had owed his opportunities for distinguishing himself. Mr. Morris gave this sword to Commodore John Barry, at that time the senior officer of the Navy of the United States. On the death of this distinguished veteran, he bequeathed the sword by his will to his intimate friend and fellow-townsmen, Commodore Richard Dale, who, having been the first lieutenant of the *Poor Richard*, and, consequently, second in command in the celebrated action in which the *Serapis* was taken, seemed the most proper person to possess this trophy of so memorable a victory. It now remains in possession of Commodore John Montgomery Dale, son of Commodore Dale.

common enemy. He adverted to various projects of annoyance, which he had previously laid before the Minister of Marine, and which had merited his approbation; and suggested, that circumstances were not so altered as to affect their present expediency. If such expeditions as he wished to undertake were prepared in America, he should be able, with the greater certainty, to surprise the enemy by an unexpected blow. He wished to alarm their colonies, as well as their own coasts. England having carried on the war against America in a more barbarous spirit than the usages of war would have permitted her to adopt against a European power, conferred on America the right to retaliate. Our speaking the same language with the enemy would enable us to surprise them more effectually. "This is not theory," he concluded, "for I have proved it by my experience; and if I have opportunity I will yet prove it more fully."

It does not appear, that the French government made any further application on behalf of Jones's promotion, and employment against the common enemy, than had already been



done through the urgent recommendation which M. de Sartine had addressed, in the previous May, to the President of Congress. His suggestions, however, were approved, and every assistance which the government could render was promised to him, in the event of his appearing again in the European seas in command of an expedition.

We have seen, that Franklin had taken leave of Jones and his grievances on the 23d of June, when the difficulty about the *Alliance* was brought to a conclusion, and Jones returned to his old request of obtaining the *Serapis*, by telling him to take what military stores he could on board the *Ariel*, and depart forthwith in that ship. Towards the close of July, supposing him to be ready for sea, he forwarded his despatches for the United States by the Count de Vauban, who was to take passage in the *Ariel*. What could have detained the *Ariel* in the harbour of L'Orient, from this time to the 4th of September, when she moved out into the open road of Groix, does not appear, either from Jones's correspondence, or from his answers to the Board of Admiral-



ty, when questioned on the subject. The delay can only be attributed to his unwillingness to depart, owing to his desire to receive the prize-money for his crew; the pleasure which he took in prosecuting his correspondence with the French ministers and his fair friends about the court; and perhaps the fascinations of his Delia. His reasons must have been private ones, having nothing to do with the wishes of Dr. Franklin, who was most urgent for his departure, though tired perhaps of telling him so, or with the obligations of his duty.

The *Ariel* still remained in the open roads of Groix, from the 4th of September to the 7th of October. He attributes his detention to storms and contrary winds. During that time, however, he might certainly have got to sea, though the wind was ahead, and, by stretching to the southward, placed himself in a position to effect his passage across the Atlantic. On the 7th, he at length put to sea, with a fair wind and pleasant weather. As the wind was light, but little progress was made, and on the following day, before the

ship was well clear of the land, the wind chopped round ahead and commenced blowing a most furious gale. The ship was put under reefed courses, which was all she could carry, and her head laid to the northward, in the hope of fetching out clear of the coast. In stretching along the land she had reached as far as the Penmarque rocks, a very dangerous reef off the cape of that name, and only a league distant from the land, when the hurricane blew with such violence as to smother the ship, obliging Jones to furl the courses, and preventing him from showing even so much as a staysail. The ship was very deep, and lay buried in the water by the mere force of the wind on her hull and spars, her waist lying constantly buried, and even her lower yards frequently dipping as she rolled. It was too dark to discover the land or the reef, but the lead with which Jones kept frequently sounding with his own hand, showed that they were shoaling the water rapidly; there was no room to veer and get her head the other way. The ship leaked badly, and one of the chain-pumps became choaked, and

would deliver no water. Destruction seemed almost inevitable ; Jones said, that never before did he “fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and of shipwreck.”

The only remaining resource was to anchor. A consultation of the superior officers was hastily held upon the quarter-deck, and this alternative was determined on. The best bow-er anchor was let go, but the ship continued to drive broadside to, and nearly on her beam ends ; the anchor did not even bring her head to wind. Two additional cables were spliced on and veered out ; still she drove. In this extremity the fore-mast was cut away ; the anchor now began to hold, and the ship came head to wind. The step of the main-mast had twisted off, while the ship was on her beam-ends, and now, as she lay rolling head to wind and bringing up suddenly at every sea, it surged from side to side and jerked with such violence that Jones feared it might part below the main-deck, or even work through the ship's bottom. He ordered it to be cut away above the spar-deck ; but before this was effected the chain plates broke, and

the mast parted by the main-deck, and, falling aft, carried with it the mizzen-mast and one of the quarter galleries. Her motion without her spars was so violent that the most practised seamen could not keep their legs. Thus stripped to the mere hull, with nothing but the bowsprit left, the *Ariel* rode for two days and nearly three nights close to windward of a reef, upon which had she struck, every soul must have perished. On the morning of the 12th, the gale had so far moderated as to allow the wreck to be cleared, and the business of erecting jury-masts commenced. The cable was hove short, but the anchor could not be weighed, as it had probably caught a rock. The cable was therefore cut, and the *Ariel* returned in miserable plight to L'Orient. The gale had created fearful devastation along the whole of the neighbouring coast, which was strewn with wrecks and the bodies of the drowned; vessels had been driven from their anchors even in the port of L'Orient. Under these circumstances the preservation of the *Ariel* was wonderful. It showed, that nothing had been omitted, that seamanship

could suggest, to save her ; and the fact, that no lives were lost, is creditable to Jones's coolness and the humane efforts to keep his crew out of danger, which he must necessarily have exerted, throughout the whole scene of terror and destruction.

Once more within the reach of the port, Jones returned to his epistles to Dr. Franklin, to the Secretary of Legation, Dr. Bancroft, to Madame d'Ormy, and to the whole train of his correspondents. "I have returned," he wrote, "without laurels, and, what is worse, without having been able to render service to the glorious cause of liberty." To make up for these deficiencies he had brought back a fresh stock of materials for correspondence. On the 13th he wrote to Dr. Franklin, that by the assistance of the commander of the arsenal the repairs had been commenced with great activity. He paid the highest compliments to the spirited exertions of his officers during the gale ; the passengers, he said, had shown "a manly spirit and true greatness of mind, even when death in all its pomp stared them in the face ;" the conduct of every per-



son in the vessel had merited his fullest approbation. To Madame d'Ormoy he wrote in a more poetic strain. "I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it an affront in me to appear on his ocean with so insignificant a force." To avoid exciting the sea-god's indignation in a similar way, he had already commenced a fresh set of applications for a larger ship.

The Count de Vauban, who had returned to Paris, engaged to use all the interest he could make to procure the loan of the *Terpsichore* frigate. Jones wrote to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, Mr. Deane, and Dr. Bancroft, to aid him in the application which he at the same time made to the Marquis de Castries, the new Minister of Marine, for the loan of the *Terpsichore*. It does not appear that he made any effort to engage Dr. Franklin to forward this object; the positive manner in which the Sage had declined wasting his influence in a useless effort to procure the loan of the *Serapis*, was still fresh in his memory. At the same time that Jones made his application to the Marquis de Castries, he enclosed



him copies of the various projects for expeditions against England, which he had laid before his predecessor. "Permit me, my Lord," he wrote, "to congratulate your Excellency on the happy choice his Majesty has made, in appointing a disinterested patriot of your liberal mind and comprehensive understanding to govern the royal navy of this kingdom. Believe me, my Lord, I anticipate, with a heart-felt pleasure, the happy events of your administration ; and I shall rejoice indeed to be found worthy of your Excellency's protection, and to be made instrumental, under your direction, in concert with the Congress, in putting an honorable end to this war." He also intimated to the Minister, that his confirmation of the flattering testimonial with which M. de Sartine had furnished him, in his letter to the President of Congress, would be most acceptable to him. The Minister caused him to be informed, that the previous letter being the act of the King could not be strengthened by his testimonial. With regard to the *Terpsichore*, she was bound to the East Indies with despatches, and could not, therefore, be substituted for the *Ariel*.

One gratifying piece of intelligence qualified the discouraging replies which Jones received to his various letters to his correspondents in the capital. He had heard, on his return to L'Orient, of the arrival of the *Alliance* at Boston, and of Mr. Arthur Lee's having reached Philadelphia. In mentioning the fact to Dr. Bancroft, he said, "We know nothing further, except that no guns were fired, no bells were rung, nor bonfires made, in consequence of so great an event." Dr. Franklin had received a letter from a friend in Boston, the substance of which was transmitted to Jones by Mr. Temple Franklin. It stated, that the *Alliance* had arrived, and that the circumstances under which she had left France were considered irregular and illegal. The officers and crew had become dissatisfied with Landais during the passage, and compelled him to relinquish the command. The passengers also were highly incensed against him, and among the most rabid was Mr. Arthur Lee. On the arrival of the ship, Landais's conduct on the passage became the subject of a court of inquiry. Mr. Lee's evidence

went to prove that he was insane. The result of this investigation, which did not embrace the damnatory charges preferred against him by Jones, and substantiated by the certificates of so many officers, was his summary dismissal from the service. As an offset to this consolatory information of the result of the friendship between Mr. Lee and Landais, Jones found himself involved at L'Orient in a mortifying dispute with Captain Truxtun, subsequently so celebrated as the captor of the *Insurgent*. Captain Truxtun was at L'Orient in command of the letter-of-marque ship *Independence*, of Philadelphia, and very improperly presumed to hoist a broad pendant upon his ship, in defiance of the resolution of Congress. Jones took this in great dudgeon, and ordered him to strike his pendant. This he refused to do, and, after an angry correspondence, continued to wear it. Nothing remained for Jones but to vent his feelings for the indignity in a letter to the Board of Admiralty. "Is not this," he wrote, "bidding defiance to Congress and the continental flag? Congress will judge what punishment is equal

to such a crime, when committed in sight of the flags and forts of an illustrious ally."

Paul Jones continued to prolong his stay at L'Orient more than two months from the time of his putting back dismasted. The expenses of refitting the *Ariel* were proportioned to the time employed in them, and of course very grievous to the frugal spirit and empty purse of our venerable minister. To add to Franklin's distress, the arms that had been shipped in the *Ariel*, were so much damaged that it was necessary to discharge them, and they were not again taken on board of the *Ariel*. Jones continued urgent in his demands and solicitations in every quarter, for the payment of the prize-money due to his officers and men, from the cruise which had terminated in the Texel. The proceeds had not yet been realized, and Franklin, in reply to the urgent appeals which had been made to him, could only write from his sick-bed, on the 4th of December, that he would use his best efforts to see justice done to his countrymen. "I hope," he wrote, "soon to see an end of that affair, which has met with so many unac-

countable obstructions. I enclose despatches for Congress, which are to be sunk in case of danger. I wish you to make the best of your way to America, and that you may have a prosperous voyage."

In consequence of waiting for further despatches, which Jones had learned from some unofficial source, not sufficient to justify the detention, were still to be sent, a fair wind was lost. The delay enabled him to make his valedictory, in due form, to his various correspondents; among others to Madame d'Ormy, to whom he expressed his gratification at her having mentioned him "to so great a man as the King of Prussia." He furthermore beguiled the time by an elegant entertainment to some distinguished friends, who had treated him with civility. The ship was tastefully prepared by spreading her awnings, so as to convert the quarter-deck into a ball and banqueting room. A curtain of pink-colored silk hung from the awning to the deck, decorated with alternate mirrors and pictures, some of which latter partook of the prurient character of the French taste of that



day. Between the mirrors and pictures were wreaths of artificial flowers. The deck was laid with carpets. These arrangements were made under the superintending care of a French lady, of Jones's acquaintance ; while cooks and waiters from the shore made liberal preparations for the feast. When all was ready, at the appointed hour, Jones despatched three of his boats ashore, the crews of which were neatly dressed in uniform, and decorated with the American and French cockades united. The ship, too, was dressed with flags. At three o'clock the company arrived, consisting of many persons of rank of both sexes, splendidly dressed. Fanning says, that, " Jones received them, as they came up the ship's side, and conducted them to their seats on the quarter-deck, with a great deal of ease, politeness, and good nature." At half-past three, the company sat down to an elegant dinner, from which they did not rise till sunset. All hands were at quarters, prepared, by Jones's order, to exhibit a representation of the capture of the *Serapis*. At eight o'clock, as the moon rose, the evening being much the same



as on that memorable occasion, a gun was fired, on the fore-castle, as a signal to commence. It was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion of great guns, small arms, rockets, and grenades. The tops, as in the action with the *Serapis*, were kept in a complete blaze. The scene was splendid, but the din was awful. The ladies, beside themselves with terror, begged Jones to have mercy on them, and the action was prematurely arrested, at the end of an hour. The Admiral's band, which had been lent for the occasion, now struck up a lively air and the dance began. It continued with unabated spirit until midnight, when the company was set on shore by the boats, with the same regularity with which they came off, except, as Fanning says, that some of them were "half seas over." The officers gallantly attended them to their very doors.

On the 18th of December, the *Ariel* was at length once more at sea, on her voyage to Philadelphia. Owing to the lumbered condition of the ship, and the important nature of the despatches, which had been intrusted to

Jones, he was not particularly anxious to meet with any of the enemy's cruisers. He had also discovered that a conspiracy existed among the English part of the crew to take the ship. To defeat this design, part of the marines were kept constantly under arms, and the officers and passengers prepared to defend themselves. With a view, therefore, to avoid the enemy's ships, he followed an unfrequented track, and took the southern passage along the edge of the trade winds. Nothing particular occurred until the *Ariel* had reached the meridian of Barbadoes, which they were passing, in latitude 26, when a large sail was discovered, which immediately gave chase to the *Ariel*. She came up very fast, and her rate of sailing showed her to be a cruiser. It was, however getting dark, and Jones hoped to escape under cover of the night. But in the morning the stranger was still in sight, and an engagement had become inevitable, if the ship should prove an enemy. The *Ariel* was therefore cleared for action; still every effort was made to conceal her force, and to prevent the display of her armament. As the day

drew on, the lightness of the wind prevented the stranger from getting alongside. Having ascertained that the force of the pursuing vessel did not exceed his own, Jones ordered a stern-chaser to be fired occasionally, and showed a desire to crowd more sail and escape, which led to a display of increased eagerness, on the part of the enemy, to come up.

As the night closed in, Jones, having determined to fight, shortened sail to bring the stranger alongside. He, at length, came up on the lee-beam of the *Ariel*. Both ships wore English colors, and a conversation of some length ensued between the two commanders. The stranger proved to be the British ship *Triumph*. It does not appear whether she was a King's cruiser or a privateer; but it is most probable, from the tone of the conversation, that she was a privateer. Jones had the ingenuity to learn from her captain all the information that he desired, concerning the state of the war in America. After obtaining this information, he ordered the captain to lower his boat and come on board with his commission. He excused himself

from doing this, on account of Jones's not having told who he was ; he also stated that his boat was leaky. Jones told him to consider the consequences of refusing, and gave him five minutes to decide. He said he could answer for twenty guns ; and that he and his people had shown themselves to be Englishmen.

Upon this Jones yawed his ship, so as to make her drop on the enemy's weather-quarter, when he put his helm up, and crossed her stern, hoisting American colors, and delivering his broadside within pistol-shot. The action was continued on the lee-beam of the *Triumph*. The fire from the *Ariel's* battery and tops, Jones represents as having been kept up with steadiness and destructive effect. The enemy made a feeble resistance of about ten minutes, when he struck his colors, and cried for quarter. The *Ariel's* fire ceased and the crew gave three cheers. Meantime the *Triumph*, having got on the *Ariel's* bow, made all sail to escape. The *Ariel* was quickly under a press of canvass in pursuit ; but the *Triumph* had so much advantage in speed,

that she drew quickly ahead, and was soon out of gun-shot. Jones was very indignant at this proceeding, and vents his rage, in his journal, to the following effect. "The English captain may properly be called a knave, because, after he surrendered his ship, begged for, and obtained quarter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practice of civilized nations."

After this action, the plot of the mutineers, to get possession of the ship, was so far discovered, that twenty of the ringleaders were identified and put in irons. No further incident of note occurred, until their arrival in Philadelphia, which took place on the 18th of February, 1781, three years and nearly four months after Jones's departure from Portsmouth in the *Ranger*.



## CHAPTER XIV.

The Board of Admiralty investigate the Delay of the Military Stores. — Jones questioned by the Board. — Resolution of Congress in his Honor. — Is invested with the French Order of Military Merit. — Answers Questions of the Board. — His Answers pronounced satisfactory. — Board recommends him to the Attention of Congress. — Vote of Thanks to him. — Receives a Letter from Washington. — Applies for Restoration of Rank. — Application unsuccessful. — Appointed to the *America*, Ship of the Line. — Endeavours to settle his Accounts. — Visits Head-Quarters of the Army. — Proceeds to Portsmouth. — Backward Condition of the *America*. — Jones's Occupations. — Letter from John Adams, on Naval Affairs. — Construction of the *America*. — Jones's Description of her. — She is given to France. — Is launched. — Jones goes to Philadelphia. — Prospect of Commanding the *Indien*. — Disappointment.

WHEN Jones arrived in Philadelphia, he found the board of Admiralty engaged in investigating the causes of the delay of the military stores, which had long since been expected from France in the *Alliance*, and under her convoy. The delay had caused great distress to the army, and occasioned much dissatisfaction to General Washington, to Congress, and to the country. The board had already reported, as one of the causes of delay, that Landais had regained command of the *Alliance*, from which he had been suspended



by Dr. Franklin, through the advice of Mr. Arthur Lee, and notwithstanding that Dr. Franklin, by the direction of the marine committee, had the sole management of our marine affairs in Europe.

On the day after the *Ariel's* arrival, a motion was made to summon Jones to appear before the board, to give all the information in his power on the subject under deliberation. This was subsequently superseded by a motion to submit to him a series of written questions, the answer to which would embrace a complete history of all his transactions, since his departure from Portsmouth in the *Ranger*. While Jones was preparing his answers to these questions, the letter addressed by the French Minister of Marine, at the King's order, to the President of Congress, was laid before that body ; and on the 27th of February, the following resolutions were adopted :

“Resolved, That the Congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., captain in the Navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British

frigate *Serapis*, on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant, as to excite general applause and admiration.

“That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States, at the court of Versailles, communicate to his Most Christian Majesty, the high satisfaction Congress has received from the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain John Paul Jones, which have merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty, and that his Majesty’s offer of adorning Captain Jones with a Cross of Military Merit, is highly acceptable to Congress.”

Permission being thus promptly granted for Jones’s investment with the order which the King had been desirous of conferring upon him, the French minister, M. de la Luzerne, gave a splendid entertainment to the members of Congress, and the most distinguished inhabitants of Philadelphia, in whose presence, he, in the name of the King, invested the Commodore with the decoration of Knight of the Order of Military Merit. He subsequently wore habitually his decoration, and retained

the title of Chevalier, by which he loved to be addressed.

Our newly created knight was, in a few days, ready with his elaborate answers to the queries which the board of Admiralty had proposed to him; and these answers being received, as in all respects satisfactory, though we must confess that, being in possession, through Jones's voluminous correspondence, of more facts than he thought proper to lay before the board, they are not conclusive to us, as to his having used every diligence in hastening to America with the military stores, he was again a candidate for fresh honors from Congress, and fresh testimonials of the public favor. On the 28th of March, the board delivered in their report upon the whole subject, which had been referred to them. In the course of it, they expressed themselves entirely satisfied, that the delay in the arrival of the military stores and clothing "had not been owing in any measure to a want of the closest attention to that business, either in the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, or in Captain Jones; who had, on the contrary,

made every application and used every effort to accomplish that purpose; but that it was owing to Captain Landais's taking the command of the *Alliance*, contrary to the express orders of Dr. Franklin."

The board further went on to state the nature and extent of the services which Jones had rendered to the country during his absence, and, after a brief history of all that he had performed, summed up as follows: "Ever since Captain Jones first became an officer in the navy of these States, he hath shown an unremitted attention in planning and executing enterprises, calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause: That in Europe, although in his expedition through the Irish channel in the *Ranger* he did not fully accomplish his purpose, yet he made the enemy feel that it is in the power of a small squadron, under a brave and enterprising commander, to retaliate the conflagration of our defenceless towns: That returning from Europe, he brought with him the esteem of the greatest and best friends of America; and hath received from the illustrious monarch

of France that reward of warlike virtue which his subjects receive, by a long series of faithful services or uncommon merit. The board are of opinion that the conduct of Paul Jones merits particular attention, and some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States, in Congress assembled."

This report, when brought before Congress, was referred to a committee, by whose recommendation the following resolution was passed on the 14th of April: "That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be given to Captain John Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he hath supported the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises, to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States, who had fallen under power of the enemy; and, in general, for the good conduct and eminent services by which he has added lustre to his character, and to the American arms: That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him, from time to time, for their steady



affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein."

It would seem that Jones had taken occasion to address Washington, in order to vindicate himself, in his eyes, from all blame on account of the detention of the military stores, and to provoke from him some opinion, as to the conduct of our military affairs. It had the effect of drawing from Washington a fresh testimonial to add to those which he had already received; testimonials which he so highly valued, which he so ingeniously drew forth, and which, in his visits from land to land, he knew so well how to use advantageously. The letter is dated from head-quarters, at New Windsor, on the 19th of May, and ran as follows:

"Sir,—My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing, which have been so long provided in France. Had I any particular reasons to have suspected you of being acces-



sory to that delay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers, which you have, to the best of my judgment, made to the questions proposed to you by the Board of Admiralty, and upon which that Board have, in their report to Congress, testified the high sense which they entertain of your merit and services.

“Whether our naval affairs have, in general, been well or ill conducted, it would be presumptuous in me to determine. Instances of bravery and good conduct, in several of our officers, have not, however, been wanting. Delicacy forbids me to mention that particular one which has attracted the admiration of all the world, and which has influenced a most illustrious monarch to confer a mark of his favor, which can only be obtained by a long and honorable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

“That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired, is the sincere wish of, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,      GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

These flattering testimonials and the gratifying reception that awaited the Chevalier, wherever he appeared, did not, however, leave him without something to desire. The injustice which had been done to him in the arrangement of naval rank, adopted in October, 1776, by which thirteen captains were placed over his head who had not entered the service until some time after his appointment, still rankled in his bosom, and excited him to seek for redress. The moment for doing so seemed most propitious. He therefore addressed a memorial to Congress, on the 28th of May, recapitulating his claims to stand above those who had been so unjustly placed over him, and respectfully praying for redress. His memorial was referred to the same committee, with the exception of one new member, which had reported the approbatory resolutions in his favor, passed by Congress, in the previous month. Jones states, that the committee reported that he had been very unfairly treated, and that to do him justice, as well as to reward him for his services, they were of opinion that he should be promoted to the rank of

Rear-Admiral. Before Congress, however, had time to act upon the report, Jones says, that opposition was made to his promotion, by one or two of those captains who had been originally placed over him, at the first appointment of officers into the navy. In consequence of this opposition, the report of the committee was returned for further consideration, and it does not appear that it was again taken up. The same cause which defeated the creation of the grade of Admiral, in the service at that time, has operated ever since; namely, jealousy among the older officers, as to whom the rank should be first conferred on.

Soon after this occurrence the Board of Admiralty was dissolved, and Robert Morris, the Minister of Finance, was also appointed Minister of Marine. On the 23d of June, this gentleman was authorized by a resolution of Congress, to take measures for speedily launching and equipping the ship of the line *America*, then on the stocks at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. It was at the same time resolved, that Congress would proceed, three days thereafter, to the appointment of a commander for

that vessel. Accordingly on the 26th, Congress proceeded to ballot for the commander, and the result was Jones's unanimous election. As the *America* was the only ship of the line we had, and as the other captains were desirous also of obtaining command of her, the decision of this question was considered by Jones as settling in his favor, in another mode, the question of rank, which had recently been under consideration. He conceived that since the act of Congress, of the 15th of November, 1776, establishing assimilated rank between the navy and army, made the captain of a ship of from twenty to forty guns equal only to a lieutenant-colonel, whilst a captain of a ship of forty guns and upward was made equal to a colonel, he, being the only officer intrusted with so large a command, was thus, in effect, placed at the head of the navy list. The conclusion seems to be drawn from sufficient premises. He was accordingly, for the time being, entirely satisfied, as appears from the following passage in his journal. "Thus Congress took a delicate method to avoid cabal, and to do justice. It was more agreeable to

Captain Jones to be so honorably elected captain of the line, than to have been, as was proposed by the committee, raised at once to the rank of rear-admiral; because Congress had not then the means of giving him a command suitable to that rank."

Justice having thus been done to him in the matter of his rank, which was, to use his own noble expression, so near his heart, because it "opened the door to glory"; it only remained for him to seek justice in another particular, which, if it were less near his heart, could not be altogether neglected. This was the settlement of his accounts with Congress, which was largely in arrears to him, both for pay and for advances on account of the public service. It does not appear, indeed, that Jones had received any thing from his first entry into the service on account of pay. On the contrary, he had paid off the crews of the *Alfred* and the *Providence* from his own resources, and actually left the United States in the *Ranger*, fifteen hundred pounds, currency, in advance to the United States. The money for this purpose, and for his subsistence during



this long period, he must have derived from prize-money. Owing to the delay in distributing what had been realized from the captures made by the squadron recently under his command, he had not only come to the United States without funds, but had left considerable debts in Europe. To defray these, and place himself in funds for his current expenses, he now laid his accounts before Robert Morris, the Minister of Finance and Marine. They exhibited a balance in his favor of more than thirteen thousand dollars. The poverty of the treasury prevented the immediate liquidation of this balance, and we find Jones petitioning the President of Congress, on the 28th of June, for an advance of a thousand dollars on account of what was due him, to enable him to defray his small debts in Philadelphia, and proceed to New Hampshire, in order to testify by his conduct his very grateful sense of the high honor which Congress had done him, by conferring upon him the command of the *America*.

Towards the middle of August, Jones left Philadelphia for Portsmouth. On his way

he made a visit to the head-quarters of the allied army, under Washington and Rochambeau, then encamped at White Plains, in West Chester county, New York. He was no doubt received there with the distinction due to his gallantry, which Washington had so elegantly recognised in the letter already quoted. The only circumstance, however, attending this visit, which has been chronicled, was the advice given him, that the people of the eastern states might take offence at the display of his cross as a Knight of the Order of Military Merit, which he wore conspicuously on his breast. On leaving head-quarters he therefore discontinued wearing it.

At the close of the month he reached Portsmouth, and found to his great regret, that the *America* was much less advanced towards completion than he had been led to hope. So far from being nearly ready for launching, and in a condition to put to sea within six months, as had been stated at Philadelphia, the ship was not more than half built. Even the materials for her completion had not been purchased, and the resources of the country were

so entirely absorbed in providing for the combined army, which was about making its movement for the capture of Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia, that but scanty funds could be found for the construction of the *America*. Something, however, was done ; for Jones went to his task with characteristic energy, grumbling, as he advanced, at the slow progress of what he pronounced “the most lingering and disagreeable service he was charged with during the period of the Revolution.” He was, however, sustained in his toils by the cherished hope of appearing again in the European seas, with his flag on board of the *America*, and a combined squadron of French and American frigates under his orders, to resume and carry into effect some of those plans for the annoyance of the enemy, which he had so often proposed to the two governments.

The task of superintending the construction of the *America*, though Jones devoted himself to it most faithfully, did not, however, occupy the whole of his time. He had collected a valuable library of professional works in the course of his wanderings, and he now

found leisure to prosecute a variety of studies in naval tactics, the construction and equipment of ships, the police of fleets and dock-yards, and other branches suited to enlighten and adorn the noble profession of the sea-officer. These studies he now made conducive to the skilful execution of the duty in which he was engaged. Nor did he fail to prosecute his extensive correspondence with the great and the fair. Among the most gratifying of the letters received by him while at Portsmouth, was one from John Adams, then minister at the Hague, congratulating him on his appointment to the *America*. It is remarkable, as evincing that lively perception of the value to us of our navy, and interest in its advancement, which none of our patriots seem ever to have felt so strongly; not even those of the present day, who can look back upon our history and see how time has set its seal upon the truth of John Adams's opinions. Many of the truths contained in the following letter are of present application.

“The command of the *America* could not have been more judiciously bestowed; and it

is with impatience, that I wish her at sea, where she will do honor to her name. Nothing gives me so much surprise, or so much regret, as the inattention of my countrymen to their navy ; it is a bulwark as essential to us as it is to Great Britain. It is less costly than armies, and more easily removed from one end of the United States to the other.

“Rodney’s victory has intoxicated Britain again to such a degree that I think there will be no peace for some time. Indeed, if I could see a prospect of half a dozen line-of-battle ships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the event would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for a continuance of the war.”

From Lafayette, who took passage in the *Alliance* for France, soon after the fall of Cornwallis, in which the Marquis had taken so brilliant a part, Jones received an affectionate greeting, on the eve of the *Alliance*’s departure. From this letter it would seem, that



Jones had seriously contemplated repairing to the army to serve under the immediate orders of his friend. Lafayette expressed great regret at not being able to see Jones, as he had much to say to him. He begged him to write to him by every good opportunity, but not often in ciphers, unless the matter was very important. Lafayette had a great horror of Jones's mysterious ciphers, in which he dealt very profusely, furnishing to most of his correspondents a key to their interpretation.

Though the Chevalier had not been able to realize his half-formed wish, of assisting in the downfall of Cornwallis, he did not fail to join heartily in the rejoicings which took place at Portsmouth for its celebration. On this occasion he resumed his decoration of the Order of Military Merit, which, with the title of Chevalier, he continued ever afterwards to wear, as he found that the good people of those parts did not take the offence at the foreign bawble which had been apprehended. On the occasion of the birth of the French Dauphin, Jones celebrated the auspicious event by mounting a battery on the *America*, at his

own expense, from which royal salutes were fired at repeated hours during the day, the flag of France being conspicuously displayed on board the ship, in connexion with our own. In the night the ship was illuminated, and made a brilliant display of fire-works. This manifestation of zeal and good feeling, produced from the French minister a highly complimentary letter. The succeeding anniversary of our independence was celebrated by Jones after the same fashion, and, as on the former occasion, much to the delight of the inhabitants, who lined the banks of the river and testified their applause.

During the construction of the *America*, Jones had, at one time, the prospect of burning powder in a way more according with his past habits. When the enemy became aware that it was intended to complete and equip the *America*, they became anxious to destroy her. Intelligence of their intentions having been communicated to Jones, both by Washington and the Minister of Marine, he organized a night-guard for her protection, composed of the mechanics who were engaged in

building her. The foremen took command of the guard in turn, and Jones himself frequently attended in person. Large whale-boats, filled with men, and pulling with muffled oars, were seen occasionally passing and repassing the ship; but she was so well watched that the project was at length abandoned.

Though Jones found his task of superintending the construction of the *America* lingering and disagreeable, and therefore uncongenial with his impatient and restless temperament, he still seems, thus relieved by festal celebrations and an occasional prospect of strife, to have prosecuted his task with characteristic zeal. The architect of the ship, Mr. Hackett, received great credit from Jones, for the skill which he had displayed in planning her model. Jones, however, introduced many alterations in the arrangement of her upper works, which seem to have been very judicious. He also designed the sculptured ornaments with which the ship was decorated, and takes evident pride and pleasure in detailing them in his journal. "The plan which Captain Jones projected for the sculpture ex-

pressed dignity and simplicity. The head was a female figure crowned with laurels. The right arm was raised, with the fore finger pointing to heaven, as appealing to that high tribunal for the justice of the American cause. On the left arm was a buckler, with a blue ground and thirteen silver stars. The legs and feet were covered here and there with wreaths of smoke, to represent the dangers and difficulties of war. On the stern, under the windows of the great cabin, appeared two large figures in bas-relief, representing tyranny and oppression, bound and biting the ground, with the cap of liberty on a pole above their heads. On the back part of the starboard-quarter gallery was a large Neptune; and on the back part of the larboard-quarter gallery, a large Mars. The *America* was fifty feet six inches in the extreme breadth, and measured a hundred and eighty-two feet six inches on the upper gun-deck. Yet this ship, though the largest, of seventy-guns, in the world, had, when the lower battery was sunk, the air of a delicate frigate; and no person, at the distance of a mile, could have imagined

she had a second battery. The workmanship was far superior to any before seen in naval architecture; and it would only have been necessary that the Abbé Raynal should have seen the *America*, to have induced him to give the world a very different idea of the continent, of which that elegant ship bore the name."

Towards the close of the summer of 1782, the noble ship which Jones so enthusiastically describes, was nearly completed, and he had the near prospect of reaping the reward of his patient labors, by seeing her, ere long, floating proudly on the ocean, to bear his banner into nobler strife, than the inferior force of the ships, which he had hitherto commanded, had permitted him to encounter. But this reward of his labors he was not destined to enjoy. A squadron of French line-of-battle ships, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, happened to enter the harbour of Boston about this time, when one of them, the *Magnifique*, stranded, and was, most unfortunately, lost. As these ships had approached our coast, for the purpose of aiding in the triumph of our cause,



Congress considered her as lost in our service. As well, therefore, to show our gratitude to the King of France for his valuable friendship, as to indemnify him for this particular loss, it was determined to present the *America* to him, to take the place of the *Magnifique*. A resolution of Congress was passed to that effect, on the 3d of September, and the unpleasant intelligence was communicated to Jones by Robert Morris, on the following day.

In forwarding a copy of the resolution of Congress, Mr. Morris expressed the great regret that he felt on Jones's account, at this unlooked for disposition of the *America*, and the sincere sympathy which he felt in his disappointment at the near prospect of reaping fresh laurels, in so fine a vessel, on his favorite field of adventure. He begged Jones to continue his inspection of the ship until she was launched, and then to repair to Philadelphia, when he would explain his future views for the employment of Jones afloat. Though Jones vented some expressions of vexation, in his journal, at the inferior fact of the act of Congress not having mentioned his name,

while dispossessing him, so summarily, of his command, and regretted that the honor which had been done him, by his unanimous appointment, should have kept him so long on an irksome and disagreeable service, when he might have been so much more congenially employed in reaping laurels at Yorktown, by the side of Lafayette, he betrayed no irritation in his reply to Mr. Morris. This gentleman was so pleased with it, that he immediately wrote, to say to him that the sentiments which he expressed, would always reflect the highest honor on his character, and that they had made so strong an impression upon his mind, that he had immediately laid an extract of the letter before Congress, which he did not doubt would view them in the same light.

On the 5th of November, the *America* was ready to be launched. The situation of the island on which she was built rendered this operation extremely difficult. On one side of the building-slip, lay a ledge of rocks, which ran nearly parallel with the direction of the keel two thirds of the way across the river, which was not more than two hundred yards wide,

and the opposite shore of which was bounded with rocks. Over this ledge of rocks, which so slightly diverged from the direction which the ship must first take, the flood-tide continued to run with rapidity for more than an hour after high water. As it was necessary to launch the ship at the top of the tide, there was obviously very great danger that she would be swept against the ledge. The rocky character of the bottom prevented Jones from fixing stoccadcs in the river to conduct the ship out clear of this reef, and he was obliged to effect the object by the use of cables and anchors alone, which he seems, from his description, to have effected with great ingenuity.

The flags of America and of France being displayed over the stern, in friendly union, and all being ready, Jones took his station on the highest part of the platform, leading from the ground to the bow of the ship. At the top of the tide the wedges were driven to lift her into her cradle, and the blocks upon which she was built being split from under the keel, she gradually put herself in motion. Stout

cables had been secured to anchors on the shore, bitted and ranged on the deck and stoppered with ropes that would break at a given pressure, and check the ship completely at an estimated distance. Jones, from his conspicuous station, watched the motion of the ship, and, by concerted signals, marked the moment when the anchors at the bows were to be let go in succession. The ship ran safely along the reef, was checked when clear of it, and dropped with the tide past it into the channel. "The operation," in the words of Jones, "succeeded perfectly to his wish, and to the admiration of a large assembly of spectators." The ship, being securely moored, was immediately delivered up to the Chevalier de Martigne, the former commander of the *Magnifique*, and Jones departed on the following morning for Philadelphia.

The views of Robert Morris, with regard to the employment of Jones, when thus displaced from the command of the *America*, proved to have for their object to place him in command of a very heavy frigate, called the *South Carolina*, then in the service of the State af-

ter which she was named. This ship was the *Indien*, which had been originally built at Amsterdam, by the American Commissioners, and to assume the command of which, Jones went to Europe, in the *Ranger*. We have seen that Jones's object was defeated by the transfer of the *Indien* to the French Government, owing either to the inability of the Commissioners to pay for her, or to difficulties made by the Government of Holland, to the equipment in its port of a vessel intended to act against an ally, in behalf of her insurgent colonies. The King of France, not long after, having no use for this ship, and being probably influenced by court favor, lent her to the Chevalier de Luxembourg, who entered into a contract with Commodore Gillon, to loan her to the State of South Carolina for three years, on condition that the Chevalier should receive one fourth of the proceeds of her prizes. This Commodore Gillon had commanded the small naval force employed by the State of South Carolina, for the protection of its coasts. Being desirous to procure increased means of annoying the enemy, Commodore Gillon had



been sent to Europe to procure ships; and several cargoes of agricultural produce had been forwarded, to place him in funds. He procured the loan of the *Indien*, on the terms we have mentioned, and called her the *South Carolina*. We have seen that he was one of the abettors, in conjunction with Mr. Lee, of the scheme for replacing Landais in command of the *Alliance*. Jones charged Commodore Gillon with inveigling men away from the *Alliance*, which were, no doubt, carried to the Texel to man the *South Carolina*. With that ship Commodore Gillon had sailed on a species of privateering cruise, and, after numerous captures of merchantmen, put into the Havana; there he had joined a Spanish expedition against New Providence, which was attended with success. He then proceeded with his ship to Philadelphia.

As the United States had made considerable advances to Commodore Gillon in Holland, to enable him to sail, in order that he might bring over some clothing for the army, Mr. Morris conceived the project of obtaining the control of this uncommonly fast, as well as

formidable ship, in order to place her, with some other vessels, at once under the command of Jones, with a view to his executing some one of his often proposed enterprises against the enemy. In this project Mr. Morris was heartily seconded by M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister. It seems that no payment had yet been made to the Chevalier de Luxembourg for his share of the prizes which the ship had made. He had therefore authorized the French Minister to attend to his interests, and this gentleman now joined Mr. Morris in the effort to induce Commodore Gillon, and the State which he represented in the matter, to relinquish the control of the ship. Though Commodore Gillon was sorely embarrassed by these various claimants, and even wanted funds for the refitment of his ship, he contrived to evade the legal processes by which it was attempted to stop her, and sent her to sea under another commander. She had scarcely cleared the Capes of the Delaware, when she was captured by the *Diomedé*, *Astrea*, and *Quebec*, three of the enemy's frigates, stationed to intercept her. Thus, for

the third time, ended Jones's prospect of getting the command of this noble ship. He was disappointed again in this instance, as in that of the *America*, which he had built, and of the *Serapis*, which he had taken from the enemy.

## CHAPTER XV.

The French Fleet bound to the West Indies. — Jones desires to embark in it. — Applies to Congress for Permission. — Obtains it. — Reception on Board the Triumphant. — Fleet sails. — Calls off Portsmouth. — Steers for the West Indies. — Arrives at Porto Rico. — Sails for Porto Cabello. — Inactivity of the Fleet. — Jones's Impatience. — He becomes ill. — Intelligence of a general Peace. — Fleet sails for St. Domingo. — Testimonials from the General and Admiral. — Jones proceeds to Philadelphia. — Visits Bethlehem. — Project for Rustication. — Plan for improving the Navy. — Jones offers his Services to recover Prize-Money. — Sails for Europe. — Traverses England. — Arrives in France. — Applies himself to his Mission. — Obstacles to an Adjustment. — Obtains a favorable Decision. — Payment delayed. — Is referred to L'Orient. — Fresh Delays. — Final Payment. — Returns to Paris. — Scheme of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast.

DISAPPOINTED a second time, within a period of little more than two months, in the hope of once more putting to sea with an independent command, the desire to be again afloat, after a prolonged sojourn of nearly two years on the land, still continued uppermost in the mind of Jones. A French fleet of ten sail of the line, under the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, then lay at Boston, on the eve of sailing for the West Indies, where it was to join the combined French and Spanish fleet,

expected from Cadiz, under the Count d'Estaing, and, after overpowering the British fleet, was to make a descent on Jamaica and the other English possessions in those seas. The combined fleet, when the expected junction should be formed, would, according to Jones's estimate, have amounted to seventy sail of the line ; a greater fleet than was ever before brought together. A formidable army was to be embarked in it, and the projected expedition held out the promise of an exhibition of war, both by sea and land, on a brilliant scale.

Jones conceived at once the desire of embarking in this expedition. His enthusiasm was excited by the idea of beholding this splendid naval display, from which he hoped to obtain a practical insight into the evolutions of fleets, on the grandest conceivable scale. Nor was he without the expectation of having an opportunity to assist as an amateur, at the side of the Count d'Estaing, to whom his local knowledge of the West Indies, and particularly of Jamaica, could not fail to render him useful. As soon as the project



was conceived, Jones hastened to put it in train for execution ; and on the 29th of November, he addressed a request to Mr. Morris, that unless Congress had some important service to intrust to him, he might be ordered to embark with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, as a volunteer in pursuit of professional knowledge, in order to qualify him to serve his country more effectually, when her navy should be hereafter increased. Mr. Morris forwarded this application to Congress on the same day, with a statement that the present condition of our resources did not permit him to employ Jones, and that he felt great concern at the little probability of being able to render his talents useful to the country which he had already served so faithfully and with such great disinterestedness. Mr. Morris went on to state that Jones's present desire to join the Count d'Estaing, in order to acquire knowledge which might hereafter render him still more useful to his country, should he be again called to the command of a squadron, was consistent with all his former conduct, and that he himself would do injustice to his own feelings as well

as to the interest of his country, did he not warmly recommend Jones to the notice of Congress, whose favor he had merited by the most signal sacrifices. The request thus made and seconded, was immediately granted in the most complimentary terms, by the following resolution: "Resolved, That the agent of marine be informed that Congress, having a high sense of the merit and services of Captain J. P. Jones, and being disposed to favor the zeal manifested by him to acquire improvement in the line of his profession, do grant the permission which he requests, and that the said agent be instructed to recommend him accordingly, to the countenance of his Excellency, the Marquis de Vaudreuil."

Being furnished with commendatory letters from Mr. Morris and the French Minister, Jones repaired at once to Boston, where he was kindly received by the Marquis, on board his flag-ship, the *Triomphant*. She was very much crowded, in consequence of the mass of Rochambeau's army, under the orders of Baron de Viomenil, being embarked in the fleet, and in transports under its convoy.

Jones mentions that sixty officers dined daily at the Admiral's table. It was a goodly number; but Jones states it for the purpose of showing the distinction with which he was lodged, and which the crowded state of the vessel of course enhanced. While the Baron de Viomenil was lodged on the larboard side of the after-cabin, the starboard side, he says, was assigned to him.

On the 24th of December, the fleet put to sea, and stood off Portsmouth, in order to join company with the *Auguste* and the *Pluton*, line-of-battle ships, lying in that port under the orders of the Count de Vaudreuil, brother to the Admiral. The *America* was not yet ready for sea. None of the ships joined the Admiral. The wind blew strong on shore, and after having separated from part of the convoy, the fleet was driven into the Bay of Fundy. Being extricated from this difficulty, it stood for the West Indies, and, making Porto Rico, remained for ten days at its rendezvous, in sight of the harbour of St. John's. It was ascertained that Admiral Hood was cruising off Cape François, with sixteen sail of the line

to intercept the Marquis, whilst Admiral Pigot, with an equal force, awaited him off St. Lucie. Having joined a large convoy from France, the Admiral stood past Porto Rico, as if bound down the south side of St. Domingo, and then hauling to the southward in the night, balked the vigilance of some of Admiral Hood's frigates, which had seen the French fleet in the Mona passage.

Porto Cabello had been fixed on as a general rendezvous for all the French and Spanish ships in the American seas, as well as for the combined French and Spanish squadron, expected from Cadiz, under the Count d'Estaing. For this port the Marquis de Vaudreuil now steered. Owing to an imperfect appreciation of the leewardly current which exists in those seas, or to very bad management of some sort, the squadron, under the Marquis, fell to leeward of its port. Three weeks were lost in beating to windward. The *Burgoyne* line-of-battle ship, getting too near the shore in the night, struck on a rock and was lost with two hundred of her crew. The transports were lost sight of to leeward, and not being able to

work up, bore away for St. Domingo. On the 18th of February, 1783, the *Triumphant* arrived in Porto Cabello, where the *Auguste* and the *Pluton* were lying. The rest of the ships of war soon after got in. Nothing had been heard of the Spanish ships from Havana, under Solano ; nor of the combined fleet under D'Estaing, although the Marquis was himself nearly two months behind the period fixed for the rendezvous.

The fleet continued until the month of April to await the expected junction, without any news of the causes that had prevented it. Jones had partially gained his object of observing the management and evolutions of a considerable fleet, and had personally received the greatest kindness from the Admiral, and from the naval and military officers with whom he was associated. But he had expected more stirring events, and the delay and disappointments were uncongenial to his impatient spirit. The only outlet that Jones now found for his activity was in a return to his correspondence, which he resumed with fresh vigor, addressing letters to most of the



persons, both in America and France, to whom he had formerly been in the habit of writing. In a letter addressed at this time to Lafayette, he expresses himself towards England with an exasperation which could only have been excited by the rancorous manner in which the press of that country had stigmatized him as a traitor and pirate. There had been rumors of peace, which were not immediately verified. Jones thus adverted to the subject; "Humanity has need of peace; but, though I was led to expect it from the late speech from the throne, I begin to fear that it is yet at some distance. There seems to be a malignity in English blood, which cannot be cured, till in mercy to the rest of mankind it is let out, that the disease may not become epidemical."

To render the situation of the fleet more irksome and distressing during this long detention at Porto Cabello, disease now began to make ravages in the ships, and Jones himself fell ill of intermittent fever. The period of the fleet's delay was, however, drawing to a close. Notwithstanding Jones's prognosti-

cation, that the malignity of English blood would require to be much diluted before peace could be realized, the provisional articles of a treaty had already been agreed on at Paris before he wrote. The circumstance, that this negotiation was pending, with a near prospect of completion, had probably prevented the sailing of the combined fleet for its rendezvous, and the contemplated junction at Porto Cabello.

The pleasing intelligence was brought by a frigate to Porto Cabello from France by the way of Martinique, and, on the 8th of April, being the day after that which had been fixed for the cessation of hostilities in those seas, the fleet sailed for Cape François, in St. Domingo. Even Jones, to whom war seemed a native element, gave way to the universal feeling of gratulation, and he placed on record, the following testimony of his joy, in which, however, the pleasure of seeing England humbled, seems to have predominated. "The most brilliant success, and the most instructive experience in war, could not have given me a pleasure comparable with that

which I received, when I learned that Great Britain had, after so long a contest, been forced to acknowledge the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America.”

The French fleet arrived at Cape François after a passage of eight days. Here it found the Spanish fleet from Havana. Jones continued to suffer from fever, and he immediately took passage in a vessel bound to Philadelphia. He was careful, however, before leaving the fleet, to secure favorable testimonials of his conduct and character from the Admiral and general-in-chief, both of whom wrote to the French minister in the United States, expressing themselves in his behalf, in the most complimentary manner, and begging the minister to use his interest in recommending him to the favorable regard of Congress. The Baron de Viomenil spoke of him in the following commendatory terms. “Mr. Paul Jones, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, has for five months conducted himself among us with such wisdom and modesty, as add infinitely to the reputation gained by his courage and exploits. I have reason

to believe, that he has preserved no less gratitude and attachment towards France, than patriotism and devotion to the cause of America. Such being his claims to attention, I take the liberty of recommending his interests near the President and Congress to your favorable regard.”

Thus armed, Jones arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th of May, 1783. The intermittent fever which had attacked him at Porto Cabello, continued to afflict him on the passage to Philadelphia, and after his arrival. His constitution was much shattered, and with a view of restoring it, and breaking the fever, he removed to the village of Bethlehem, where he passed the summer. While in the West Indies, and suffering from disease, he had formed the project of purchasing a farm and retiring to the country, until his services afloat should be again required. He had heard of a large estate, situated near Newark in New Jersey, which was for sale at a price far below its value, and wrote from Porto Cabello, to a friend to endeavour to turn some assets, which he had left in his hands, into money, and

to purchase the estate for him. He thought, that, as the estate was only ten miles from New York, which would probably become one of our first naval ports, it would be a very desirable residence for him. That he carried his views a step further than the solitary possession of an estate in the country, is evident from the following passage in his letter. "If the peace should, as I wish it may, be concluded, I wish to establish myself on a place I can call my own; and to offer my hand to some fair daughter of liberty." He now found that nothing had been received on his account for the prize-money due him in France; and that his other claims had not been liquidated. The purchase of the estate was therefore out of the question, and the "fair daughter of liberty," who was to form its most graceful appendage, was equally unattainable.

With the recovery of his health, Jones began to seek consolation for his recent disappointment in more stirring hopes. He employed his time in drawing up a detailed statement of his views on the naval service



of the country, and urged the necessity of starting with a settled system, in which every thing should be provided for, and which should be based upon a careful observation of the condition and organization of other navies, and an extended and liberal view of what was required in our own. He adverted to the glaring mistakes which had been made in the original organization of our navy, and the evil consequences which they had occasioned; and strongly inculcated the importance of setting out right, when our finances would again permit us to establish a navy. He remarked, that as we were a young people, we should not be ashamed to learn from those who were more experienced than ourselves in naval affairs. To do this more effectually, Jones proposed to the minister of marine, that a handsome frigate should be fitted out and despatched under a proper person, to make an extensive cruise in the European seas, touching at the principal ports of the various powers, and offering to each the hospitality of our own harbours, and commercial advantages to be secured by reciprocal treaties. He further

proposed, that after this initiatory step should have been taken, to ask leave to visit the various dock-yards, and there examine carefully into all the details of the systems pursued in them; the models of the ships, dimensions of spars, mode of supplying materials of construction, stores, and provisions, the complements of men and officers to various classes, rate of wages and mode of paying them, police of dock-yards and ships, line of distinction between officers of each, arrangement of naval schools and hospitals, and in general whatever might be useful in carrying out a systematic plan for the organization of a navy. Jones further proposed as a sequel to this plan, that when the finances of the country would admit of it, a fleet of frigates should be kept in commission for the practice of evolutions, and for perfecting the officers in every branch of their duty, by the competition which is only to be found where a number of vessels are brought together.

His views throughout evinced an enlightened appreciation of the best means of creating an efficient and respectable marine, and a

lively zeal for the attainment of the object, which he himself was desirous of being personally engaged in forwarding. He was of course the "proper person" to command the "handsome frigate," which was to "display our flag" in Europe, and fulfil these various functions of offering the hospitality of our ports, inviting to an interchange of commercial treaties, and collecting the necessary information for the establishment of our navy on an enlightened and prosperous foundation.

The poverty of our exchequer prevented the fulfilment of this well-conceived project. Jones, finding no employment in the United States, and not being able to realize his day-dream of an estate in the country, if he continued to entertain it, for want of funds, now offered his services to Congress, to proceed to France, and recover the prize-money for captures made by the squadron under his orders, which, after an interval of more than four years from the time the *Serapis* was taken, still continued unpaid.

By an act of Congress of the 1st of November, 1783, and on the recommendation

of a committee, of which Mr. Arthur Lee was one, it was resolved, that Jones should be sent to France in the packet *Washington*, then on the eve of sailing from Philadelphia, with power, under the direction of the American minister, to solicit and receive the money due for prizes made in the European seas by ships under his command. He was authorized to receive for himself the commission usually allowed in such cases, and was required to give bonds for the faithful discharge of his trust, and the due payment of the money he might recover to the minister of finance for the benefit of the concerned. It is an evidence of the honorable estimation in which Jones was held, as a man of integrity, that he found no difficulty in finding friends to sign bonds for him, to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars.

The *Washington* sailed from Philadelphia, on the 10th of November. She was bound to Havre; but, meeting with a head wind in the channel, she put into Plymouth on the 20th day out, and as Jones had important despatches in charge, he went by post to

London, where, meeting with Mr. Adams, and being informed by him, that his despatches for Dr. Franklin probably contained powers for concluding a commercial treaty with England, he continued his journey to Paris, where he arrived on the 5th day after his departure from Plymouth. Dr. Franklin immediately recognised his authority to solicit the payment of the prize-money due to the officers of the *Richard* and *Alliance*. He had, as usual, come duly backed by letters from the French minister in the United States. He was, in consequence, kindly received by the Maréchal de Castries, still Minister of Marine, with whom he dined; and by whom he was presented to the King. The King received him graciously, and expressed a readiness to advance his fortunes.

Jones now set about this business with characteristic energy, and displayed as much inflexible perseverance in bringing his shuffling creditors about the French court to terms, as he had done in sterner contests. The prizes for which payment was claimed of the captors' share, had all been sold four years before ;



yet payment had all this time been withheld, notwithstanding that the American Consul-general had been specially charged to demand it. Not discouraged by this circumstance, Jones forthwith addressed himself to the Maréchal de Castries, enclosing Dr. Franklin's acknowledgment of his authority to solicit payment of the prize-money, due to the crews of the *Richard* and *Alliance*, and begging that their quota might be immediately paid into his hands.

By the direction of the French minister, an account was now made out from papers furnished by M. de Chaumont, in which the American captors were charged the same percentage on their shares, for the benefit of the Hospital of Invalids, as was customarily deducted from prizes taken by French men-of-war, for the support of that benevolent institution. A charge was also made for the repairs of the *Serapis*, and *Countess of Scarborough* at the Texel; and their other expenses while employed in the safe keeping of the prisoners captured on board of them. In the concordat, or written agreement under

which the squadron had sailed from L'Orient, it had been decided, that the division of the proceeds of prizes should be made in conformity with the American laws, but that the proportion of the whole, coming to each particular vessel, should be regulated by the joint decision of the French Minister of Marine, and the American minister plenipotentiary at the court of France. Now the American prize-laws gave captors the whole value of captured British ships of war, and half the value of merchant-men; but, as the proportion coming to each vessel was to be settled by agreement between the French Minister of Marine, and our resident minister, advantage was taken of the circumstance, to attempt bringing the general distribution of the prize-money within the control of the French laws. Jones combated this attempt manfully, and argued very justly, that there could be no propriety in compelling American seamen to contribute to the support of the Hospital of Invalids, from which they could not derive support. Some of the very persons, from whom it was attempted to withhold a portion of their prize-money,

had already been pensioned by Congress for wounds received during the engagement with the *Serapis*. There might have been some color of justice, in charging the prizes with their removal to a French port, as they could not be sold for the benefit of the concerned in Holland, as well as for such repairs as were absolutely necessary to enable them to put to sea. Jones contended, however, that no repairs were necessary to effect this object, as the *Serapis* performed well under jury-masts. With regard to the support of the prisoners brought into the Texel, Jones was able, in resisting the charge against the prizes on this account, to fortify himself with the opinion of Dr. Franklin, who wrote to Jones, in answer to his queries, that he "certainly should not have agreed to charge the American captors with any part of the expense of maintaining the five hundred prisoners in Holland, till they could be exchanged, when none of them were exchanged for the Americans in England, as was your intention, and as we both had been made to expect."

The result of this matter was, that Jones,

after nearly a year of persevering, urgent, and not always over-polite solicitation, procured the allowance of his claims, on behalf of the crews of the *Richard* and *Alliance*, without any of the deductions by which it had been attempted to abate the already inconsiderable amount. On the 23d of October, 1784, the Maréchal de Castries signed the account for the re-partition of the proceeds of the prizes, in conformity with the terms upon which Jones had insisted; and furthermore the King generously relinquished his half of the proceeds of the captured merchant ships, awarded to him by the American laws. Additional delay was, however, still made in the settlement of some of the accounts, so as to defer the payment from day to day, and from month to month, until Jones, losing his patience, wrote again, in June, 1785, to De Castries, and somewhat sarcastically reminded him of his promise, so often made, for the immediate payment of the money. "From the great number of affairs more important that engage your attention," he wrote, "I presume this little matter which concerns me, in a small degree personally, but

chiefly as the agent of the brave men who served under my orders in Europe, may have escaped your memory. My long silence is a proof that nothing but necessity could have prevailed on me to take the liberty of reminding your Excellency of your promise."

To get rid of this disagreeable quickener of ministerial memory and unreasonable claimant for the fulfilment of promises, Jones was now directed to apply to the Royal Auditor at L'Orient, for the payment of the money which was lodged in his hands. He was informed, however, that security would first be required of him for the application of the money about to be paid to him. Having satisfied the minister on this head, by a reference to the bonds which he had already given in the United States, he set out for L'Orient in July, 1785, with many misgivings as to fresh troubles awaiting him in the final settlement of his claim, and renewed delay from the reluctance of the Auditor.

These misgivings were too well realized. When Jones presented his demand for the payment of the prize-money, he was met by



a claim from a merchant of L'Orient, by the name of Puchilberg, who presented a power of attorney which had been given to him by the officers and crew of the *Alliance*, while at L'Orient, under the hope that he would be able to procure their share of the prize-money for them before their departure from the port. It did not appear that Puchilberg had advanced any money to the signers of the power of attorney ; still there was a disposition to pay over to him the share of the crew of the *Alliance* ; especially that of Captain Landais, on account of his being a native of France. Jones resisted this claim manfully, both at L'Orient and at court. In his letters to Mr. Jefferson, who had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister, he gave conclusive reasons why Mr. Puchilberg was not a proper person to receive the prize-money of the crew of the *Alliance*. With the exception of Captain Landais, the whole ship's company were Americans, and resident in the United States. Landais had renounced his allegiance as a French subject, as well as his religion as a Roman Catholic, had become an American citizen, and was

still a resident of the United States. Mr. Puchilberg had given no bonds for the faithful application of the funds, had no muster-roll of the crew of the *Alliance*, was unacquainted with the American law for the distribution of the prize-money, and could not therefore do justice to the crew, most of whom were in the United States, even if he were inclined to do so.

In defiance of Mr. Puchilberg's pretensions, and the countless devices which were adopted, to avoid or defer the payment of the prize-money, it was, at length, forthcoming towards the close of September, 1785. The gross sum made over to him amounted to a little more than one hundred and eighty-one thousand livres. The resolution appointing Jones agent for the recovery of this prize-money, had authorized him to receive the commission usually allowed in such cases for the amount he should recover. Not deeming this commission a sufficient compensation for his time and services, Jones now charged the captors with forty-eight thousand livres for his expenses during the time he had been em-

ployed in recovering the money. This sum, with his share as captain of the *Richard*, amounting to more than thirteen thousand livres, made his portion upwards of sixty-one thousand livres; while that which remained for the officers and crews of both vessels, was reduced to one hundred and twenty thousand livres. After further deducting some shares, which Jones paid personally to a few of the captors who happened to be on the spot, a residue of one hundred and twelve thousand livres, was placed by Jones in the hands of Mr. Jefferson, and transmitted to Congress, to be divided among the captors. It appears from a letter addressed many years after to Paul Jones, by the French Minister of Marine, that he at this time received fifteen thousand livres from the Treasury, to pay the American part of the crew of the *Richard*. Of this sum, no mention is made in the settlement of his account.

The share of the prize-money which the Chevalier reserved for himself, seems very exorbitant. He, however, represents that no one but himself, with the exception of Dr. Frank-

lin, who would never have any thing to do with the business, knew enough of the circumstances under which the expedition was fitted out, to have been enabled to follow the matter up so as to recover any thing. The money seems to have been retained in the hands of M. Chaumont, who was in advance to the government for this very expedition, far beyond the proceeds of the prizes, and who was moreover largely in advance to the government of the United States. Jones accounts for the extravagant amount of his expenses, during the time that he was engaged in recovering this prize-money, being more than five thousand a year, by ascribing it to the expense imposed upon him by the distinguished position he occupied at Paris, and his familiar personal acquaintance with the great men of the day. In magnifying the dignity of his position, he almost fancied himself of more consequence than an ambassador; "I went to court," he said, "much oftener, and mixed with the great much more frequently, than our minister plenipotentiary, yet the gentlemen in that situation, consider their

salary of two thousand sterling a year, as scarcely adequate to their expenses." Jones's frequent appearance at court may have had its uses in bringing about the payment of the claim he was authorized to sue for; but the claimants, when they came to divide the miserable residue, would doubtless have been willing to compound for a smaller display of wealth, on the part of their representative. The unjustifiable extravagance of Jones's style of living may be best understood by stating the fact, that he charged his shipmates for his expenses, during less than two years, more than General Washington did the people of the United States, for his household expenses, throughout the Revolutionary War. By the statement of the Chevalier's account, too, his own share as a captor is taken apparently from the gross amount recovered, and not from the net amount, after his own expenses were deducted; so that though more interested in the recovery than any other, he does not seem to have borne his due share of the expenses. On the other hand, it appears in his favor, that his accounts were approved by Mr.



Jefferson, and eventually by congress; though the board of Treasury, which had them under consideration, considered his charges excessive.

Immediately after the remittance of the residue of the prize-money, to Mr. Jefferson, the Chevalier returned to Paris, and, having now money in both pockets, resumed his connexion with the great and fair. At the request of the Masonic Lodge of Nine Sisters, of which he was a member, he had his bust taken by Houdon, a distinguished sculptor of the day, (afterwards employed by the State of Virginia to come to America and make a statue of Washington,) and multiplied copies of it, which he presented to his most distinguished friends. The bust is said to have been a perfect likeness of him. An attempt having been made to exact duties upon two copies of it, that were shipped to Philadelphia, it excited his indignation beyond measure. "They are not merchandise," he wrote to Mr. Morris, "and I flatter myself, that my zeal and exertions for the cause of America will not be requited with such a mark of dis-

honor. I would rather hear that the busts were broke to pieces, than consent that they should be subject to a duty." He also completed his journal, narrating all his adventures and achievements; a copy of it was laid before the King, and others circulated among those distinguished persons of either sex, whose regard he was desirous of winning.

Views, however, of more active employment continued to occupy his attention. While Jones was at L'Orient, and subsequently to his return to Paris, his mind was much occupied with a scheme which Ledyard, the celebrated American traveller, had suggested to him, for a trading voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in search of furs to be sold at China. The original project, concerted between Ledyard and Jones, was to procure a couple of suitable armed vessels from the French government through Jones's influence at court. A factory was to be established on the north-west coast of America, in which Ledyard was to remain with a small force. One of the vessels was to be employed under Ledyard's orders, in trading along the coast, whilst Jones

was to depart for China, as soon as a single cargo of furs should be collected by both vessels. He was afterwards to return to the coast, by which time loads would be procured for both vessels, proceed with them to China, and, having exchanged them for silks and teas, repair to Europe, take on board fresh cargoes, and return to the northwest coast, where Ledyard was to remain in the mean time, collecting furs, and cultivating a good understanding with the Indians.

The undertaking having been found impracticable on this extensive scale, it was narrowed down to a single vessel of two hundred and fifty tons; and the scheme was so far matured between the two, that the whole details of the expedition, the cost of the outfit, the expense of purchasing furs, their value at China, the costs of the return cargo for Europe, and the vast balance of profits to accrue to the concerned in the enterprise, were carefully estimated. The vessel was to be purchased, and fitted out under the French flag, and loaded with a suitable cargo for barter with the Indian tribes of the northwest

coast of America. She was to sail on the 1st of October, for the northwest coast, by the way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands; where she was expected to arrive in April. By the following October, she was expected to be ready to sail with a full cargo of furs for Japan or China, whichever might offer the best market. Having exchanged her furs for Eastern merchandise, she was to return to Europe after a contemplated absence of only a year and a half. The expenses of this expedition were estimated to amount to less than twenty thousand dollars, while the net profits were fixed at more than five times that sum. The fortunes, that have been so easily made by those who first had the enterprise and sagacity to enter into this remote trade, prove, that the estimates of Ledyard, founded as they were on observations made upon the spot, were not exaggerated. Jones saw the feasibility of the project, and was allured by the tempting prospect of united gain and adventure which it presented. He would have willingly embarked both person and fortune in the enterprise. But his own

means were not sufficient to furnish the outfit, and failing to induce capitalists to share his faith, and join in the undertaking, it was reluctantly abandoned. He subsequently invested part of his prize-money in a joint speculation with Dr. Bancroft, to introduce the quercitron bark among the English dyers. About this time, he no doubt found an abundant outlet for his spare funds, in a connexion which he appears, from the subsequent correspondence, to have formed or renewed with Madame T—. He induced the Marchioness de Marsan to present her to the King, who received her graciously, and promised to provide for her. From the Chevalier's subsequent correspondence, the impression is irresistible, that she at this time bore him a son.



## CHAPTER XVI.

Negotiation concerning Prizes delivered up by Denmark. — Position of the Claim. — Previous Negotiation. — Jones determines on going to Copenhagen. — Proceeds to Brussels. — Failure of Funds. — Goes to the United States. — Prepares to return to Europe. — Solicits a Letter to the French King. — Project for Redemption of Captive Seamen. — Also for Naval Asylum. — Difficulty about Accounts. — Settled on Jones's Terms. — Congress votes Jones a Gold Medal. — Writes a Letter to the French King, in Behalf of Jones. — Singular Scene with Landais. — Letter to Madame T——. — Departure for France. — Prospect of Employment in Russia. — Visit to Copenhagen. — Flattering Reception. — Negotiation fails. — Jones is pensioned by Denmark. — Invited to St. Petersburg. — Accepts the Offer. — Difficulties about Rank. — Objection to subordinate Command. — Jones communicates his Decision to Mr. Jefferson. — Solicits an Appointment as American Rear-Admiral.

THE resolution of Congress appointing Jones agent to solicit payment of the prize-money due to his officers and crews, extended to "all the prizes taken in Europe, under his command." It became, of course, a very important part of his duty, to give his attention to the case of the two English armed ships, *Union* and *Betsey*, which had been sent into Bergen by Landais, and had been so unjustly given up to England by the Danish government. These prizes had been valued

as worth, at the lowest estimation, forty thousand pounds sterling. A third prize, called the *Charming Polly*, was also given up about the same time. Immediately after the news of this gross violation, by Denmark, of the hospitality due to neutrals, and of the laws of nations, had reached Dr. Franklin, he had addressed the Danish Prime Minister, protesting against his unjust decision, and demanding the return of the prizes, if they had not sailed from the kingdom, or the payment of their full value. The minister replied evasively, though with many compliments, and concluded by referring Franklin, for further explanations, to the Danish minister at Paris. From this gentleman nothing could be extracted beyond further compliments and fresh evasion. In this position the affair remained, until the recognition of our independence by Denmark; soon after which, the Danish government instructed its minister in London, who was about visiting Paris, to endeavour to gain the intimacy and favorable regard of Dr. Franklin, as a step towards procuring a similar treaty between the United States and

Denmark, to that which had been entered into between the United States and Holland. This letter was exhibited to Franklin, who, in consequence, addressed the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and intimated, that the readiest way to prepare the United States for so desirable a bond of friendship, would be for Denmark to redress the injustice which she had done to the United States, by the delivery of the prizes to England, in consequence of the importunities of her minister.

The result of this proposition had been that the Government of Denmark solemnly recognised the injustice of its own act and the validity of the claim, by offering to pay ten thousand pounds for its adjustment. Dr. Franklin declined an adjustment on these terms, upon the ground that the value of the prizes should form the true measure of compensation, and that this should first be inquired into. Some further negotiations towards the settlement of this claim took place between John Adams, our minister at London, and the Danish minister at the same court; but with no better result, as is evident from a

letter of Mr. Adams to Jones, dated in July, 1786, which he concludes by saying, "As there is a Danish minister now in Paris, I should advise you to apply to him; for the foreign ministers in general at the court of Versailles have less weight upon their spirits in all things relating to America, than those at London. Cash, I fancy, is not an abundant article in Denmark, and your claim has probably delayed and suspended all negotiations with Mr. Jefferson and with me respecting a commercial treaty, for which three years ago there was no little zeal."

Conceiving that his presence might be necessary in the United States, to settle his accounts connected with the recovery of the prize-money, and attend to the distribution of the residue falling to his officers and crew, Jones had meditated transferring his agency for the recovery of the value of the prizes delivered up by Denmark, to Doctor Bancroft, and returning to America. Learning, however, that Congress had, in the previous June, directed that the amount which had been paid over to the board of treasury should by it be distributed

to the officers and crews of the *Richard* and *Alliance*, entitled to receive the same, he gave up the idea of returning to America, and determined to proceed at once to Copenhagen to attend personally to the recovery of the claim against Denmark. Mr. Jefferson approved of this course, furnished Jones with proper credentials, and procured for him a letter from the French Prime Minister to the French representative at Copenhagen.

Thus prepared to appear advantageously at the Danish court, Jones set out from Paris in the spring of 1787; but got no further on his way than Brussels, when the want of funds, occasioned by his failing to receive an expected remittance from the sale of some bank stock he had ordered to be disposed of in America, induced him to turn back, and carry into effect his original project of a visit to the United States. His business in the United States was very briefly concluded; for we find him on the 18th of July acquainting Mr. John Jay, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, of his approaching departure for Europe, to resume his agency at Copenhagen for the



recovery of the claims. He stated his intention of going by the way of Paris, in order to procure additional recommendations for the advancement of his errand, and intimated to Mr. Jay how flattering it would be to him to carry with him a letter from Congress to his Most Christian Majesty, thanking him for the squadron which he had placed under our flag. "And on this occasion, Sir," he continued, "permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recall the attention of my sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with me from the court of France. It would be pleasing to me, if that letter should be found to merit a place on the journals of Congress. Permit me also to entreat, that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the Minister of Marine, when his Majesty deigned to bestow on me a golden-hilted sword, emblematic of the happy alliance; an honor which his Majesty never conferred on any other officer."

After much further modest recapitulation of his claims and services, Jones concluded by calling the minister's attention to the situation

of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers, whither they had been conducted, while in their lawful pursuits, by the corsairs of that piratical regency. He said, that their hopeless condition was a deep reflection on our national character in Europe, begged leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and suggested as an expedient for their redemption, that a tax of a shilling a month should be levied on the wages of all seamen, and appropriated to that purpose. This tax, he thought, would create a fund not only sufficient to redeem all our fellow-citizens in captivity at Algiers, but also to create an institution for the reception of superannuated and disabled seamen, on the plan of Greenwich Hospital in England, except that it would be for the benefit of the commercial marine. This benevolent project of Jones, so characteristic of the interest which he took in the fate of captive seamen, throughout the whole of his career, is creditable alike to his humane feelings and his ingenuity. His proposition may have suggested the idea, subsequently adopted and still enforced, of a tax on the pay of

seamen, levied under the title of "Hospital Fund," on their return voyages into the ports of the United States, from which a home in sickness and old age is secured to them.

Jones had so far arranged his private affairs, as to be ready to return to Europe in July. He was, however, anxious probably to procure a response from Congress to the letter which had been written by order of the King when he returned in the *Ariel*, and besides, there was some difficulty about the settlement of his accounts, connected with the proportion of the prize-money which he had reserved to himself. The board of treasury either considered it too great, or conceived that, if it were not too great, he had reserved it without sufficient authority, as the resolution of Congress merely authorized him to receive "the commissions usually allowed." The delay in the settlement of the question was prolonged by the fact, that Congress was not in session, as the convention was then deliberating on the adoption of the federal constitution. The report of the board of treasury, when it was at length made, was unfavorable to Jones's

claim for so large a portion of the prize-money. He became very indignant at the report, and, in a letter to the chairman of the committee to which the report of the board of treasury had been referred, made the following very absurd complaint of an encroachment on his dignity, of which he was always disposed to entertain an exaggerated estimate. "The board of treasury have been pleased, in their report, to treat me as a mere agent, though employed in that delicate concern. In France I was received and treated, by the King and his ministers, as a general officer, and a special minister from Congress." Eventually his claim was allowed; the fact of his having already received and disposed of the money, contributing, no doubt, to narrow down and simplify the question.

How well Jones was able to advance his interests with Congress, may be understood from the fact of his success, not only in procuring the sanction of his accounts, but also a unanimous resolution of that body, "That a medal of gold be struck, and presented to the Chevalier Paul Jones, in commemoration

of the valor and brilliant services of that officer, in the command of a squadron of American and French ships under the flag and commission of the United States, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war; and that the Honorable Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed with the proper devices."

In addition to this singular honor, the following letter was addressed by Congress to the King of France. "Great and beloved Friend: We, the United States in Congress assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation, with which your Majesty has been pleased to honor the Chevalier John Paul Jones, as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valor and brilliant services, while commanding a squadron of French and American ships, under our flag and commission, off the coast of Great Britain in the late war.

"As it is his earnest desire to acquire knowl-



edge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting of your Majesty, to permit him to embark in your fleets of evolution, where only it will be probably in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge, which may hereafter render him most extensively useful.

“Permit us to repeat to your Majesty, our sincere assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship, will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and people. We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved, friend under his holy protection.

“Done at the City of New York, the sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of our sovereignty and independence the twelfth.”

On the 25th of the same month, Congress passed resolutions instructing our minister at Versailles, to represent to His Danish Majesty, that the United States were sensibly affected by the circumstance of his Majesty having caused a number of their prizes to be delivered to Great Britain during the late war; and

that not only a sense of the justice due to the individuals interested in those prizes, but also an earnest desire, that no subject of discontent might check the friendship which they wished might subsist, and increase, between the two countries, prompted them to remind his Majesty of the transaction, and request that as a restitution of the prizes was not practicable, he should render a compensation equal to their value. The minister was directed if he thought proper, to despatch the Chevalier, Paul Jones, or any other agent, to the Court of Denmark, to prosecute the claim; but no ultimate conclusion of the business was to be made, without the approbation of the minister. The agent so employed was to be allowed five per cent. for all expenses and demands, upon the money he might recover, which was to remain in the hands of the minister to await the further order of Congress.

During his stay in New York, a very singular difficulty took place between the Chevalier, and his quondam colleague, the extraordinary Landais. Landais had been in the

habit of making Paul Jones the subject of his daily conversation, and of fierce threats of dire punishment, whenever they should meet. One day in October, the Chevalier happened to be standing in Water Street, engaged in conversation with a friend of the name of Milligan, when Landais was seen coming down the street towards them. Milligan mentioned the circumstance to Jones, whose back was turned towards Landais, but he continued his conversation without turning. Landais approached slowly, wearing a vindictive smile on his countenance, and when a few yards off, having spit upon the pavement, muttered the words, "I spit in his face!" Mr. Milligan asked Jones if he had understood what Landais had said. He answered, he had not, and remained perfectly tranquil. As Mr. Milligan did not repeat Landais's expression, Jones continued for some days ignorant of it. The remark probably partook of the nature of an aside at the theatre, and was put forth more for Landais's own comfort, and as a subject for future self-glorification, than to be audible to his enemy. Landais's object

soon after evinced itself in exaggerated reports of what had occurred, circulated to Jones's disadvantage. To these, the latter replied by publishing Mr. Milligan's statement, as substantially given above, of what had really occurred, briefly adding, that his respect for the public had induced him to establish the falsity of Peter Landais's report by the only witness present; "having discharged that duty," he said, "I shall not condescend to reply to any thing that may be said or published by a person of his known character."

As this eccentric individual has so often crossed the path of Jones, to mar his projects and occasion him annoyance, the reader may be curious to hear what subsequently became of him. He had fixed his residence in Brooklyn, where he lived with the strictest economy, on a small annuity purchased by his arrears of prize-money, having received four thousand dollars from Congress, to be deducted from his portion of whatever might be recovered from Denmark, for the prizes given up to England. Though his income was of the narrowest, very little exceeding two hun-

dred dollars a year, he had a morbid feeling of independence, which never suffered him to receive an obligation, which he was unable to return. Even an offer to pay his ferriage over a river, he has been known to receive as an insult, and reject with disdain. During the latter years of his life, he was a constant petitioner to Congress for his share in the value of the prizes, sent into Norway and illegally given up by Denmark, five thousand dollars more, as he conceived, being due to him on that account. From savings set apart from his income, he contrived every other year to make a visit to the seat of government, in order to attend personally to the furtherance of his claim. During these visits, he frequently exhibited his captious irritability. On one occasion, having heard that a member of Congress had spoken slightly of him, he put on his faded continental uniform, and mounting his small sword, repaired to the gallery of the House of Representatives, where he gave it to be understood, that he was very much at the service of any gentleman, who wished for a little honorable satisfaction. He



vapored a great deal among the youthful wags, who were wont to collect about him, and threatened, if there were any bad blood in Congress, he would draw it out. Like his modern imitator, he never ceased affirming that he, and not Paul Jones, had captured the *Serapis*. He died in the summer of 1818, aged eighty-seven years, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral Yard. He had, therefore, probably returned into the bosom of the Catholic Church, which he is said to have abjured on his first entry into the service of America.

Towards the close of the Chevalier's stay at New York, he addressed a letter to Madame T—, through Mr. Jefferson, which explains the nature of his relation with that lady. She had just informed him of the death of the Marchioness de Marsan, her protectress, who had filled the station of governess to the King's sisters. The following is part of his reply. "No language can convey to my fair mourner, the tender sorrow I feel on her account! The loss of our worthy friend is indeed a fatal stroke. It is an irreparable misfortune, which can only be alleviated by this

one reflection, that it is the will of God, whose providence has, I hope, other blessings in store for us. She was a tried friend, and more than a mother to you! She would have been a mother to me also, had she lived. We have lost her! Let us cherish her memory, and send up grateful thanks to the Almighty, that we once had such a friend. I cannot but flatter myself, that you have yourself gone to the King in July, as he had appointed. I am sure, your loss will be a new inducement for him to protect you, and render you justice. He will hear you, I am sure; and you may safely unbosom yourself to him, and ask his advice, which cannot but be flattering to him to give you. Tell him, you must look on him as your father and protector. If it were necessary, I think too, that the Count D'Artois, his brother, would, on your personal application, render you good offices by speaking in your favor. I shall like it better, however, if you can do without him. I am almost without money, and much puzzled to obtain a supply. I have written to Dr. Bancroft, to endeavour to assist me. I mention this with

infinite regret, and for no other reason, than because it is impossible for me to transmit you a supply under my present circumstances. This is my fifth letter to you, since I left Paris. The two last were from France, and I sent them by duplicates. But you say nothing of having received any letters from me! Summon, my dear friend, all your resolution! Exert yourself, and plead your own cause. You cannot fail of success. Your cause would move a heart of flint! Present my best respects to your sister. You did not mention her in your letter; but I persuade myself, she will continue her tender care of her sweet godson, and that you will cover him all over with kisses from me; they come warm to you both from the heart!"

Jones's remark, that the deceased lady had been "more than a mother" to Madame T—, and the assurance that she would have been a mother to him also, had she lived, might lead to the inference, that she really bore that relation to Madame T—, as well as that Jones contemplated making this lady his wife. His unwillingness, that she should use the influ-

ence of the Count d'Artois, (since, Charles the Tenth,) except in the last extremity, when it is remembered that she was actually his aunt, being the daughter of Louis the Fifteenth, his grandfather, is a painful commentary on the morals of the times. It is not to be wondered at, that the dethroned monarch should, in his declining years, have become so gloomy and remorseful a devotee.

On the 11th of November, Jones sailed from New York in a vessel bound to Holland, which had agreed to land him in France ; and took what proved his final leave of America. The wind being ahead to reach a French port, he was put on shore at Dover, and proceeded to London, where he passed several days, during which he conferred with Mr. Adams, on the subject of the mission on which he expected to be employed. He then proceeded to Paris, where he arrived on the 11th of December. On the same evening, he had an interview with Mr. Jefferson, and presented his despatches. Mr. Jefferson now communicated to him a piece of intelligence, well suited to arouse his ambitious and as-

piring spirit. Mr. Simolin, the Russian ambassador at Versailles, had intimated to Mr. Jefferson, in conversation on the subject of some recent disasters of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, that it would be a very valuable acquisition to the navy of the Empress Catharine, his mistress, if she could procure the services of the Chevalier in the war she was then waging against the Turks.

The intimation, thus made to Mr. Jefferson, does not appear to have been acted upon during Jones's sojourn in Paris. He was, however, sounded on the subject, on the part of the Russian minister, and, in the midst of an affected coyness, probably evinced his real impatience to enter upon the brilliant career, which seemed thus to open on him. Still, no distinct proposition was at this time made to him. He was so far influenced by the prospect of soon commanding a fleet himself, that he forbore for the present to deliver the letter from Congress to the King, asking permission for him to embark in his fleet of evolution. At the close of January, 1788, he received from Mr. Jefferson his credentials for



prosecuting his claims at the court of Denmark. On the morning of the 2d of February, being the day fixed for his departure, he went, by invitation, to breakfast with Mr. Littlepage, Chamberlain of the King of Poland, for the purpose of meeting Mr. Simolin, the Russian minister. In the course of the interview, Mr. Simolin treated Jones with great attention, and informed him, that, in consequence of the knowledge which he had obtained of Jones's character, during his residence in England as ambassador, and since his removal to France, he had already proposed to his sovereign to intrust the Chevalier with the command of her fleet in the Black Sea, and soon expected that advantageous proposals would be made to him in consequence. Jones expressed his gratitude for the compliment, and probably his readiness to comply with the Empress's orders, though he has not placed the fact on record. After Mr. Simolin had left the house, Mr. Littlepage informed Jones, that Simolin had written to his court, that "if her Imperial Majesty should confide to Jones the chief command of her

fleet on the Black Sea, with *carte blanche*, he would answer for it, that in less than a year Jones would make Constantinople tremble."

With this compliment tingling in his ears, and his imagination filled with brilliant visions of glory and distinction, he set forward for Copenhagen, having in view the double object of recovering the prize-money, and being nearer to St. Petersburg to receive the proposals of the Empress. He arrived there on the 4th of March, after having suffered severely from fatigue and cold. He was at this time only forty years old; but his constitution was already beginning to yield to the hardships of his profession, aided by the wear and tear of an excitable and impatient temper.

In a few days, Jones was so much improved in health, as to be able to wait on Baron de la Houze, the French minister, by whom he was cordially welcomed, and who soon after presented him to the King, and all the different members of the royal family. He thus chronicles his interview. "I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The Queen

dowager conversed with me for some time, and said the most civil things. Her Majesty has a dignity of person and deportment, which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The Princess Royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her, without paying her that homage which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the royal family spoke to me, except the King, who speaks to no person when presented. His Majesty saluted me with great complaisance at first, and as often afterwards as we met in the course of the evening. The Prince Royal is greatly beloved and extremely affable; he asked me a number of pertinent questions respecting America. I had the honor to be invited to sup with his Majesty and the royal family. The company at table, consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the royal family, the ministers of state, and foreign ambassadors, was very brilliant."

Having taken this initiatory step so much

to his satisfaction, Jones now bethought himself of the business which had brought him to Copenhagen, and accordingly addressed Count Bernstorff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, enclosing to him a copy of the act of Congress, by which the American minister at Versailles had been directed to demand of Denmark indemnification for the prizes which she had given up. He mentioned, that he had seen the despatches from Mr. Jefferson, with which he had been charged, and that it was therefore unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the subject ; so he simply confined himself to calling the minister's attention to the act of Congress, "the act," he added in parenthesis, "by which I am honored by a gold medal ;" and concluded by telling him how happy he was in being the chosen "instrument to settle the delicate national business in question with a minister, who conciliated the views of the wise statesman with the noble sentiments and cultivated mind of the true philosopher and man of letters."

It does not appear, that this flattering allocution produced any favorable effect ; for we

find Jones at the end of a week, again addressing the minister, and assuring him how sensible he was to the favorable manner in which he had been received. He said, however, that though particularly flattered by the polite attention with which he had been honored at every conference, he had remarked with pain, that the subject of his mission was avoided. He therefore told the minister, that a man of his liberal sentiments could not be surprised at his expecting impatiently a prompt and categorical answer in writing, to the demand contained in the act of Congress, which had been brought under his notice.

Though the prompt and categorical answer, which Jones required, was not forthcoming, an evasive one was sent in its place, which terminated the negotiation. The Danish minister avoided speaking at all on the subject of the indemnity claimed for the prizes, which had been surrendered. He contrived to mix up Jones's demand with the previously pending negotiation for a treaty of amity and commerce, and said that nothing could be further from the wishes of the King, than to



abandon a negotiation which had only been temporarily suspended, to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate arrangement. He promised, on behalf of the King, that the negotiation should be resumed so soon as the new constitution, which he denominated "an admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men," should be adopted by the states. The minister repeated to Jones the invincible obstacle to treating with him, which he had previously adverted to in conversation, growing out of Jones's want of plenipotentiary powers; and said that it would likewise be contrary to usage, to change the seat of the suspended negotiation from Paris to Copenhagen. As there does not seem the least color of common sense in thus disregarding Jones's demand for a consideration of a claim, which came commended to their notice by an act of Congress, transmitted through our minister at Paris, and as Jones would never, under other circumstances, have permitted himself to be thus put off, it seems not unlikely, that, when he found that nothing would be immediately done with reference to the claim, he himself

procured the removal of the seat of negotiation to Paris, that he might be left at liberty to proceed to St. Petersburg. He, in fact, states this to have been the case, in his subsequent correspondence. Soon after this occurrence, Jones received from the Danish government a patent for a pension of fifteen hundred crowns a year, as an acknowledgment "for the respect he had shown to the Danish flag, while he had commanded in the European seas." Jones never mentioned to his most familiar correspondents that this pension had been settled on him, nor was its existence known until several years afterward, when he applied ineffectually for its payment. He then first communicated the fact to Mr. Jefferson in terms that are certainly apologetical. "The day before I left Copenhagen, the Prince Royal had desired to speak with me in his apartment. His Royal Highness was extremely polite, and after saying many civil things, remarked, he hoped I was satisfied with the attention that had been shown to me since my arrival, and that the King would wish to give me some mark of his esteem. 'I have never

had the happiness to render any service to his Majesty!’ ‘That is nothing; a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules. You could not have shown yourself more delicate as regards our flag, and every person here loves you.’ I took leave without further explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation, with regard to the King’s patent, and I have not yet made use of it, though three years have nearly elapsed since I received it.” It appears moreover from his correspondence with the Danish Prime Minister, that he had consulted him as to accepting the offer which the Empress of Russia had made to him, and had been advised by the minister to accept it. An awkward coincidence with regard to this pension is, that it was dated on the very day that he agreed to suspend the negotiation and remove it to Paris. The alleged motive for conferring and receiving it, is so flimsy as to awaken well-grounded suspicions as to the nature of the transaction, unless we adopt the opinion of the Crown Prince with regard to the Chevalier, “a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules.”

Meantime, the negotiation for entering the naval service of Russia, being of greater personal interest to Jones, was soon brought to a successful issue. In consequence of the intimation which the Russian minister had made to his court, that Jones might be induced to enter the service of the Empress, orders were transmitted to Baron Krudner, the Russian minister at Copenhagen, by express, to offer him the rank of captain commandant, equivalent to that of major-general in the army, and to invite him to repair as soon as convenient to court. He was informed that it was the intention of the Empress to give him a command in the Black Sea, under the orders of the Prince Potemkin. He was excited by Baron Krudner, to take advantage of the opportunity which now offered itself to add to the laurels which he had already won ; and was assured, that, in pursuing glory in the cause of so magnanimous a sovereign, he might depend upon the most distinguished reward and every advantage of fortune.

Jones immediately determined to abandon his business in Copenhagen, and proceed to St. Petersburg, with a view to taking service

in the Russian navy. In his reply to Baron Krudner, he expressed dissatisfaction with the rank which was offered to him in the place of the more appropriate one of rear-admiral, to which he considered himself entitled. He laid all his various testimonials, which he had so diligently collected, before the Russian minister, and wrote regarding them as follows. "You will discover, I presume, that my talents have been considerable; but that loving glory, I am perhaps too much attached to honors, though personal interest is an idol to which I have never bowed the knee. The unbounded admiration and profound respect, which I have long felt for the glorious character of her Imperial Majesty, forbids the idea that a sovereign so magnanimous should sanction any arrangement, that may give pain at the outset to the man she deigns to honor with her notice, and who wishes to devote himself entirely to her service." In allusion to what had been said about acting under the orders of the Prince of Potemkin, he began already to betray impatience of any control. "A conjoint command," he wrote, "is hurtful, and often fatal, in military operations.



'There is no military man, who is so entirely master of his passions as to keep free of jealousy, and its consequences, on such occasions. Being an entire stranger, I have more to fear from a joint authority, than any officer in her Majesty's service.'

Having formed his determination to accept service in the Russian navy, Jones wrote to Mr. Jefferson on the 8th of April, 1788, to give him an account of the unfavorable termination of his negotiation. He flattered himself, however, that his visit to Cöpenhagen would be attended with a good effect, by leading to the renewal, at Paris, of the negotiation for a treaty between the two countries. He suggested to Mr. Jefferson, that it would be advisable to introduce into such a treaty a stipulation for the admission of the United States into the armed neutrality. He thought that such a measure would afford great pleasure to the Empress of Russia, and promised on his arrival at St. Petersburg to mention the subject to her. He acquainted Mr. Jefferson with his intention to enter the Russian service, and told him, that he relied upon his friendship to justify to Congress the important

step he was about to take with Mr. Jefferson's advice. He thought, that as Congress had passed acts, recommending his employment in the French fleets, in order to improve himself in naval science, it could not fail to approve of his occupying the high station which had been allotted to him, and in which he would be called, himself, to direct the evolutions of fleets, and practise the art of naval warfare on an extended scale, instead of acting the part of a simple observer. He protested that he had not forsaken his country, and that he would never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States.

“If,” he continued, “Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of rear-admiral, from the day I took the *Serapis*, I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never yet had the honor to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her Imperial benevolence.” It

was not the fact, that the Empress had offered Jones a rank equal to that of rear-admiral. On the contrary, he was complaining at this very time of that title being withheld from him; and his chief object in now seeking to obtain from Congress, what during his absence could only be an honorary distinction, was to use it as a lever in Russia, to raise himself to the same rank. This is evident from what he afterwards says; "I ask for nothing; and beg leave to be only understood as having hinted what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going."

As Paul Jones was about setting out from Copenhagen, Baron Krudner brought him a thousand ducats, to defray his expenses to St. Petersburg. He mentions, that he endeavoured to induce the Baron to take it back; but, as he refused to do so, Jones determined not to use it by the way, having money of his own, and to return it at St. Petersburg, in the event of his declining to accept the station which might be offered to him.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Jones leaves Copenhagen. — Arrives at Stockholm. — Finds the Gulf of Bothnia frozen. — Crosses the open Baltic. — Perilous Adventure. — Arrival at Revel. — Arrival at St. Petersburg. — Presentation to the Empress. — Is created Rear-Admiral. — Receives a Letter from the Empress. — Departure for the Black Sea. — Interview with Potemkin. — Siege of Oczakow. — Jones Appointed to the Command of a Squadron in the Liman. — The Prince of Nassau in Command of the Flotilla. — Arrival at Cherson. — Uncivil Treatment of the Russian Admiral. — Visit to the Squadron at Schiroque. — Tour of Observation — Jones hoists his Flag in the Wolodomer. — Changes the Position of the Squadron. — Holds a Council of War. — Jealousy between Jones and Nassau. — Engagement between the Russian and Turkish Squadrons. — Cruelty of Nassau. — Potemkin dines with Jones. — Reconciles Jones and Nassau. — Second Battle. — Brilliant Exploits of Jones. — Unjust Distribution of Rewards. — Capricious Conduct of Potemkin. — Offensive Orders. — Correspondence between Potemkin and Jones. — Jones superseded. — Interview with Potemkin. — Jones departs from the Black Sea.

TOWARDS the middle of April, 1788, Jones started from Copenhagen for St. Petersburg, by the way of Sweden. Having remained a single day at Stockholm, he went to Gresholm to embark, but found so much ice, that he was unable either to cross the Gulf of Bothnia, or even to reach the islands which lie midway in the channel. After several ineffectual attempts to cross in that direction, Jones, believ-

ing, as he says, that the Empress would be impatient for his arrival, determined to attempt doubling the ice to the southward in the open Baltic. For this purpose, he hired an open passage-boat about thirty feet long, and took a smaller boat in tow to drag over the ice, in case of abandoning the larger boat.

Jones did not make his project known to the boatmen, lest they should have been unwilling to undertake so dangerous an enterprise. He therefore first attempted to cross to the intermediate islands, in the direction of the coast of Finland. Having made a little progress in that direction, he steered to the south, between the ice and the Swedish shore, where he barely found room to pass. At nightfall, being nearly opposite Stockholm, "pistol in hand," he compelled the reluctant boatmen to put out into the Baltic, and steer for Finland. The wind continued fair during the night, and the next morning the coast of Finland was in sight, but at a great distance, and so bound with ice as to render it unapproachable. As the wind blew strong from the Swedish shore, it was impossible to put back; it only remained for Jones to skirt



along the ice until he came to the entrance of the Gulf of Finland. Meantime, the second night came on squally. In the course of it the small boat was swamped, and the men who were in it were saved with difficulty. Jones had provided himself with a small compass, and by fixing the lamp of his travelling carriage so as to throw a light on it, the boatmen were able to keep the boat's head in the right direction. On the fourth day, Jones landed safely at Revel, where the performance of such a perilous adventure excited no little astonishment. In Sweden it was for some time reported, that he had perished in a storm in the Gulf of Finland.

Having rewarded the boatmen who had reluctantly shared his perils, and furnished them with the means of procuring a new boat, provisions for their homeward voyage, and a pilot to conduct them, when the weather should be more favorable, Jones set forward for St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the evening of the 23d of April.\* On the 25th of April, he was

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\* The dates during Jones's sojourn in Russia are according to old style, eleven days behind our mode of computing time.

presented by Count Ségur, the French minister, to the Empress, who received him very graciously, and immediately conferred on him the coveted rank of rear-admiral. Jones was overwhelmed with the courtesy with which he was received. In accepting employment under the Empress, he made no conditions, and only proffered one request, which seemed to carry with it a foreboding of future disgrace ; “ never to be condemned unheard.”

The individual whom the sovereign delighted to honor, of course found abundant favor in the eyes of others. The Chevalier's distinguished reputation as a naval hero was, for the moment, not a little enhanced by the romantic adventure which had attended his arrival in Revel. Nobles, statesmen, and foreign ministers besieged his door ; and invitations to entertainments at court and in the highest circles, left him without an unoccupied moment. These unusual marks of favor, and the elevated rank with which Jones had been instantly invested, occasioned great discontent among the foreign officers already in the Russian navy. The English, particularly, affected

great horror in being thus superseded by an English "pirate," and former "smuggler"; and thirty officers addressed a memorial to their chief and countryman, Admiral Greig, threatening to throw up their commissions if they were associated with him. This, however, did not prevent his appointment. The difficulty was avoided by not employing those officers under Jones's immediate command.

In writing to Lafayette, Jones gave way to the exultation which his present brilliant prospects awakened in him. This letter abounds in enthusiastic praises of the Empress, and enters into various projects for a closer political union between Russia and France. It also suggests the great advantage which America might derive from joining the armed neutrality, and from a close commercial intercourse with Russia.

The letter in which Jones replied, in Copenhagen, to Baron Krudner's proposal for him to enter the Russian navy, had evinced some misgivings as to being placed under the orders of the Prince Potemkin. He appears to have recurred to this objection in conversation with

the Empress, who in consequence addressed to him the following letter, when on the eve of departure for the Black Sea.

“ Sir : A courier from Paris has just brought from my envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter to Count Besborodko. As I believe that this letter may help to confirm to you what I have already told you verbally, I have sent it, and beg you to return it, as I have not even had it copied, so anxious am I, that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you, that you are to be connected only with those who are most favorably disposed towards you. I have no doubt that, on your side, you will fully justify the opinion which we have formed of you, and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation you have acquired, for valor and skill, on the element on which you are to serve.

“ Adieu ! I wish you happiness and health.

“ CATHARINE.”

The letter alluded to, mentioned one which M. de Simolin had shortly before received from Prince Potemkin, requesting him to in-

duce the Chevalier Paul Jones to repair to his head-quarters that he might employ his talents at the opening of the campaign; and begging him to assure Jones that he, Potemkin, would do all that depended on him to make Jones's situation advantageous, and to procure for him occasions of displaying his skill and valor. Jones may have had a well-founded distrust of the overbearing character of Potemkin, but his pretension to be independent of the military commander with whom he was to coöperate, and who was carrying on a war at a great distance from the seat of government, was very unreasonable.

On the 7th of May the Chevalier left St. Petersburg, bearing a letter from the Empress to Potemkin, and a purse lined with two thousand ducats, for the expenses of his journey and outfit. His appointments were fixed at eighteen hundred roubles a year.\* He arrived at St. Elizabeth, the head-quarters of Potemkin, on the 19th, where he was received with distinction and kindness. As the character of this singular individual had an im-

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\* The rouble at that time was worth about 96 cents.



portant influence over the fortunes of Jones, it may not be amiss here to recall its most striking features. Originally the lover of the Empress, his valor, political sagacity, and commanding temper gave him a control over her mind which she was never able to shake off. He shared and flattered her passion for the overthrow of the Turkish empire, and the establishment in Constantinople, on the throne of the Cæsars, of the grandson who had been named Constantine, with a view to the restoration of the Empire of the East. It was this scheme of conquest, and his desire to obtain the cross of St. George, which could only be conferred on a commander-in-chief after a victory, which had excited the war in which Jones had now come to take part, and in which the Turks had been forced, by systematic outrages, to take the initiative. Haughty, irritable, and despotic, Potemkin was not the sort of person with whom Jones could give way with impunity to his own querulous discontent. As it was, they met with a mutual disposition to be pleased with each other. Potemkin required the services

of a skilful and dashing sea-officer, and Jones was habitually prone to honor the great and powerful. The first object of Potemkin was to get possession of the fortified town of Oczakow at the junction of the Bog with the Dnieper, which formed the maritime frontier of the Turks in this direction. The place was invested by land. The fort of Kinburn, lying on the south side of the Dnieper, immediately opposite Oczakow, was in possession of the Russians, and held by Suwaroff, with a strong garrison. The Captain Pacha had come to the succour of Oczakow with a hundred and twenty small vessels and barges, and lay at anchor in front of the place beyond the reach of the guns of Kinburn. Jones was appointed to the command of the squadron intended to oppose the Captain Pacha. His force consisted of a single line-of-battle ship, the *Wolodomer*, which, on account of the shoalness, had only twenty-six guns mounted, five frigates and five sloops, mounting from sixteen to twenty-four guns, and four smaller vessels, making in all fourteen sail. He was stationed in the Liman,

as that narrow arm of the Euxine is called which forms the mouth of the Dnieper. The ships were badly constructed, drew too much water for the general navigation of the Black Sea, were too crank to carry the heavy guns that were mounted on them, and sailed badly. In all these respects Jones found the Turkish ships superior to those he was to command; besides being much more numerous.

In addition to Jones's squadron, a considerable number of Russian gun-boats and barges were stationed in the Liman. By a great mistake, the command of this flotilla was made entirely distinct from that of the squadron. The two forces were to act in unison when practicable, but each had its distinct commander. The commander of the flotilla was the same Prince of Nassau Siegen who had volunteered to accompany Jones in his projected expedition in the *Indien*, in 1779, and who had subsequently abandoned his purpose without explanation or excuse, or even exercising the ordinary courtesy of replying to Jones's letters. This nobleman who seemed to possess the spirit of adventure without the

ability to pursue it with success, had subsequently been engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to take the island of Jersey, and afterwards passed some time at the siege of Gibraltar. On the breaking out of the war between Russia and Turkey, he had tendered his services to the former, and been placed in command of the fleet of the Black Sea. He is said to have been unsteady in his purpose and of very humble capacity, though extremely arrogant and presumptuous. No two persons could have been more ill-suited to act harmoniously together than Jones and Nassau, yet the former was now placed in command of the squadron, while the latter retained command of the flotilla, each independent of the other, and both having motives for jealousy and hatred.

Having been informed that the army would soon be concentrated about Oczakow, and that Potemkin would bring up his head-quarters, Jones set forward to assume his command on the 20th of May. He was accompanied by an officer of Potemkin's staff, who had orders to place him in command. At Cherson, at

that time the chief Russian naval station on the Black Sea, Jones received a foretaste of the jealousy and annoyance which awaited him in the new service which he had entered. Rear-admiral Mordwinoff, who was at the head of the Arsenal at Cherson, received him with studied disgust, and, though ordered by Potemkin to furnish him with all the particulars concerning his command, abstained from making any communications to him, or delivering to him the rear-admiral's flag, to which he was entitled.

After a short delay at Cherson, Jones proceeded to the Roads of Schiroque, between the mouths of the Dnieper and Bog, where the squadron was at anchor, and went immediately on board of the *Wolodomer*. The squadron of ships had been hitherto commanded, under the orders of Nassau, by Brigadier Alexiano, a Greek, originally a subject of Turkey, who had distinguished himself as a corsair against the Turks. Alexiano was naturally annoyed at being superseded, and threatened to retire from the service. He was eventually, however, persuaded by Potemkin to remain. In



order to make himself acquainted with the localities of the proposed scene of action, and also to give time for the angry feelings of Alexiano and some of his Greek followers to subside, Jones now made a visit, with the officer who accompanied him, to Kinburn, to examine the entrance of the Dnieper, and reconnoitre the position and strength of the Turkish fleet and flotilla. Observing that there was no fortification on the extreme point of Kinburn, which commands the entrance into the Liman, Jones persuaded Suwaroff to erect one. It was afterwards very useful. On his return to the squadron, the discontent of Alexiano seemed to have disappeared, and Jones hoisted his flag on board the *Wolodomer*. This occurred on the 26th of May.

In the course of a few days the ships and flotilla were reinforced by troops to complete the complements of their crews, and on the 29th of May the whole armament got underweigh and stood for the entrance of the Bog, off which it anchored, in a line forming an obtuse angle, so as to command the passage into the Liman, thus covering Cherson, which

was without fortifications, guarding the free passage of the Bog for the army of Potemkin, and keeping the Turks in check from attempting to carry Kinburn. Jones had every confidence in his ability to make good his position, though Nassau and Alexiano, having commenced intriguing against him, endeavoured to unsettle Suwaroff's faith in the efficiency of the flotilla, by representing to him that the vessels which composed it, having been constructed to convey the carriages of the Empress in her famous triumphal visit to Cherson, a few years before, to survey the empire which she was about to grasp for her own, were so slight that they would probably sink with the weight of their guns, at the first discharge. Soon after assuming the command, Jones, having, as he says, no orders from Potemkin, assembled a council of war on board the *Wolodomer*, in conformity with the naval ordonnance of Peter the Great. He opened the council with an eloquent speech, in which he endeavoured to inculcate the importance of a perfect understanding between the squadron and flotilla; and urged that, for-

getting all personal considerations, they should unite heart and hand in the determination to conquer. The council approved of the position which the squadron occupied, and it is remarkable, as showing that Jones's superiority was so far recognised by the Prince of Nassau, that he attended the council which Jones had convened, and at which he presided.

On the 7th of June, an encounter took place between the Russian and Turkish flotillas, which resulted in the retreat of the latter with the loss of two vessels, which were burnt. During this engagement, Jones fought in the flotilla, and, part of the time, he was in the same boat with the Prince of Nassau, where he represents himself as giving the necessary orders along the line. He says, though he had directed the whole affair, he relinquished all the credit of it to the Prince, as the action had been sustained by the flotilla. He represents the Prince as having spoken little during the action except in praise of Jones, though soon after, he assumed a haughty tone towards him. It seems that Jones, in his report of the battle to Potemkin, gave Nassau

credit, among other things, for having taken his advice, with regard to the direction of his flotilla, in good part. Jones showed this to Nassau, before it was sent, who did not object to any part of it, though he afterwards took offence at the expression. A few days after, he addressed a letter to Jones, proposing that the squadron and flotilla should advance nearer to the Turkish fleet, which had taken post under the batteries of Oczakow. Jones objected to this movement, as it would leave the Liman and Cherson open to the enemy, and constitute an abandonment of that defensive system which Jones had adopted, and of which Potemkin had approved. Out of this difference of opinion and mutual jealousy, augmented by an ill-suppressed contempt on the part of Jones, for Nassau's weakness and instability, grew a disagreement which, though outwardly often reconciled, augmented from day to day to the great injury of the public service.

On the 16th of June, the Turkish fleet, having been reinforced, approached very near the Russian with the intention of attacking.

One of the largest Turkish ships, bearing an admiral's flag, having grounded, the rest of the fleet anchored in a line. During the night the wind became favorable for the Russian fleet, and, at daylight the following morning, Jones made the signal to weigh. The squadron and flotilla now bore down on the Turkish fleet, which immediately weighed or cut the cables and attempted to escape in the greatest confusion. The *Wolodomer* steered for the Captain Pacha's ship, and had approached within pistol shot, when the Turk grounded, and Alexiano, without orders from Jones, let go the *Wolodomer's* anchor, under pretence of saving her from grounding, as he said there was only fifteen feet of water ahead. Meantime the Russian flotilla having lagged behind, Jones's ships were much annoyed on the right by the Turkish flotilla, a bomb from which sunk one of the frigates alongside of the *Wolodomer*. The Chevalier now took to his boat, and went in quest of the Prince of Nassau, to endeavour to persuade him to proceed with his flotilla to dislodge the Turkish gun-boats. But the Prince was altogether



taken up in firing upon two Turkish ships which were aground, keeling over too much to bring any guns to bear, and moreover under cover of the guns of the Russian ships, of which they might be considered prizes. These two Turkish ships were soon set on fire by means of a species of bombs, called Brand-kugel, which were perforated with holes and filled with combustible matter ; and their crews perished miserably in the flames. The flag of the Captain Pacha having been shot away with the mast on which it was hoisted, and the great inclination of the ship causing it to fall into the water, it was drawn up by the boatmen, and delivered to the Prince. The Pacha himself had abandoned his ship, and assumed command of the flotilla. Being unable to withdraw the Prince from the burning ships to attack the Turkish flotilla, Jones sent Alexiano and Brigadier Corcasoff to perform this service ; and they soon succeeded in dislodging them, and driving them under the walls of Oczakow.

Part of the squadron still remained within the Liman, and the Russian squadron and

flotilla took a position to prevent it from running out, without passing under the guns of the fort, which Suwaroff had erected on the extreme point of Kinburn by Jones's advice. During the night, the Captain Pacha attempted to pass out secretly with the remains of his squadron, but nine of his largest vessels grounded on the sand bank, which stretched from Oczakow until within cannon-shot of the new fort. A constant fire was kept up on the grounded vessels during the whole night. In the morning, Suwaroff sent a request for the men-of-war to take possession of the ships that had grounded. Jones was desirous of sending frigates to perform the service; but Alexiano represented to him, that the strength of the current at that point might occasion their loss. The flotilla was therefore despatched on this service under the Prince of Nassau, accompanied by Alexiano. They immediately commenced a fire of Brandkugels upon the grounded ships, and seven out of the nine were soon in flames. No effort had been made to save either the ships or their crews. In vain did the Turks throw them-

selves on their knees, and invoke pity by cries and by signing the cross. More than three thousand of them were mercilessly consumed in the flames.

Meantime the whole Russian army had concentrated before Oczakow. Potemkin made Jones a visit on board of the *Wolodomer*; he was attended by the chief officers of his staff. The whole party remained to dinner, and it appears that Nassau was also there; for in the course of the entertainment, Potemkin employed the Prince de Ligne and Mr. Littlepage, to persuade Nassau to make some explanations to Jones. This they effected, and the two commanders embraced in the presence of the whole company, in token of their complete reconciliation. This was the second effort of Potemkin to establish a good understanding between the two chiefs. A fortnight before, he had written to Jones as follows; "I regard perfect union between you, as the foundation of all the services that your talents and your known valor give you both the power of rendering to my country; and I cannot strongly enough recommend to you to

live in perfect understanding with the Prince of Nassau."

Harmony being thus ostensibly established between the two naval commanders, Potemkin gave orders to the Prince of Nassau to destroy the Turkish flotilla, which lay under the walls of the besieged city. Jones was to render every possible assistance with the squadron. On the 1st of July, Potemkin, having attacked by land, to make a diversion, the Russian flotilla advanced within gun-shot of the Turkish, and opened its fire. Jones, after having assisted, with the boats of the squadron, in towing up the flotilla abreast of that of the enemy, cast off the tow-lines, and dashed on to capture five Turkish galleys, which lay under the guns of Fort Nassau, within range of canister shot. They were moreover within gun-shot of the Turkish flotilla, and the batteries of Oczakow, and the enterprise was full of peril. He boarded and carried the first galley, and then passed on to the second, which was that of the Captain Pacha, which he carried in like manner. An inexperienced young officer who accompanied

him, immediately cut the cable of the Pacha's galley, and she drifted in under the fort and grounded. Jones attempted to run a warp to the wreck of a fire-ship, which the Turks had attempted to send among the Russian flotilla, as it approached; but found that he had not sufficient length of rope. He immediately despatched a lieutenant to the *Wolodomir* for a cable and anchor, and at the same time removed the prisoners, fifty-two in number, which he had taken from the two galleys. In the interval, he was exposed to a close fire from the flotilla and batteries. Meantime the remaining three of the five galleys were burnt by the Brandkugels with all on board.

After waiting for some time for the cable and anchor, Jones went to assist in bringing up the flotilla. While engaged in this, he saw, to his regret, that fire had broken out in the Pacha's galley. His first thought was, that the slaves had found means to escape, and had fired the vessel. He ascertained afterwards, that Nassau and Alexiano being together in a boat on the outside of the flotilla, and perceiving Jones's intention, had sent a



Greek caique to fire the galley. The whole number of slaves chained on board the galley, most of them doubtless Christians, and who had not been removed with the rest of the crew, perished miserably without the power of escape. Two large vessels were also burnt near the fort, making six vessels in all that were burnt with their crews. The only prisoners were those which Jones had rescued from the two galleys. This mode of warfare was at variance with Jones's habits, and pained him inexpressibly. To spare life was not in accordance with the sanguinary spirit in which the war was conducted.

The engagement over, Jones, whose conduct on this occasion is represented by Mr. Littlepage, as having been brilliant in the extreme, withdrew on board the *Wolodomer* to attend to the further prosecution of his duty, whilst Nassau and Alexiano hurried to head-quarters to entertain Potemkin with an account of their achievements. Jones takes a quiet pleasure in mentioning that the rain fell in torrents, while they were on their way to the camp. The propriety of such movements was soon

after manifest, when Nassau, for his previous services in the month of June, found himself rewarded with a valuable estate, having three or four thousand peasants on it, the military order of St. George, and authority to hoist the flag of rear-admiral on the day on which Oczakow should capitulate. Alexiano also received a considerable estate, and a promotion of two grades. As, however, he had caught a violent fever, in consequence of exposure in the storm, on his way to Potemkin's headquarters, and died the day after he heard of his good fortune, Jones had not so much occasion to envy him. As for Jones himself, he received the order of St. Anne, an honor with which he said he should have been entirely satisfied, had the services of others been recompensed in the same proportion. All the officers of the flotilla were promoted one grade, and received the gratuity of a year's pay. Many of them, moreover, were decorated with orders of distinction. Subsequently, twenty-four swords, mounted in massive gold, were sent by the Empress for distribution. One of them, studded with diamonds and emeralds

was given to Potemkin ; another, studded with diamonds, to Nassau ; the rest were distributed among the officers of the flotilla. The officers of the squadron, almost all of whom had been bred to the sea, and had done their duty well in all the engagements, received neither promotion, mark of distinction, nor gratuity. These slights were no doubt owing to the arts of Nassau and his superior favor with Potemkin.

Mr. Littlepage, who had been instrumental in getting Jones to enter the Russian service, and was himself now employed as a commander in the squadron, had written to Jones the following excellent advice ; “ Prince Potemkin has conceived a high esteem for you, but he loves Nassau. If ever mutual interest dictated union between two persons, it is between you and the Prince of Nassau at the present moment. The reverse will be to the prejudice of both. In the name of friendship reflect upon this.” The appeal of friendship was however disregarded. Jones, instead of rising superior to Nassau by his actions, and trusting to their quiet agency to give him

a mental ascendancy in the end, was petulant, irritable, and jealous, in proportion as Nassau was absurd, conceited, and boastful. Potemkin lost patience at this trifling with the public service, and became at length disgusted with both of them. Nassau in the mean time found most favor with him, and turned it to good account.

The sequel of Jones's services in the Liman does not afford any remarkable event. The squadron under his orders continued to be employed in the blockade of Oczakow on the side of the Liman. On one occasion, in the absence of the Prince of Nassau at Sevastopol, to ascertain if the squadron there had received much injury in a recent engagement with the Turkish fleet, Potemkin proposed giving Jones command of the flotilla to make an attack on Oczakow. Nassau, however, returned and resumed the command of the flotilla. On another occasion he offered to give him command of the fleet at Sevastopol, that he might come out with it, attack the Turkish fleet before Oczakow in the rear, and destroy it, or at any rate make a junction with

the squadron in the Liman. Jones was not again called upon to effect any important movement, though he was occasionally engaged in partisan attacks.

On the 20th of July, Potemkin, having noticed two of the enemy's gun-boats anchored under Fort Nassau, apparently in readiness to go out, conjectured that they were about to sail with despatches. He asked Jones if it were possible to capture them. Jones undertook the service, and started at eight o'clock from the *Wolodomer* with five armed launches. He found one of the gun-boats ashore, and attempted, under a very heavy fire from the battery, to get it afloat. This he was unable to effect. He then proceeded to the other gun-boat, which had been boarded by Lieutenant Edwards with three launches. He found that Edwards had been driven away with a loss of several men, after having cut the gun-boat's cables. Jones boarded the gun-boat from which Edwards had been repelled, and succeeded in carrying her, with the loss of several men. He towed the vessel out, under a heavy fire, and anchored her opposite Potemkin's head-quarters.



In a similar enterprise which he undertook in October, the Chevalier was less fortunate. Having been one afternoon to head-quarters to make a report, Potemkin showed Jones, with his telescope, a very heavy gun on the bow of the outermost vessel of the Turkish flotilla, and told him that he should like to see it pitched overboard. Jones pronounced the thing to be easy of execution, and fell readily into the Prince's whim. As, however, he did not imagine that Potemkin attached any special importance to the enterprise, so as to make it proper for him to execute it in person, he confided it to Lieutenant Edwards. This officer found the crew of the vessel numerous and on the alert, and he was repulsed with loss; at daylight he returned to the *Wolodomer* to report his failure. Jones made a report of the circumstances to Potemkin, in which he offered himself to perform the service on the following night. Lieutenant Edwards carried the report, and brought back a message from Potemkin that he accepted Jones's offer. Edwards did not, however, return with the answer until eleven

o'clock at night. The wind and current were both ahead, and the rain fell in torrents. Nevertheless Jones set forward with five armed boats. His progress, however, under these disadvantages, was so slow that he found himself at daylight still distant from the enemy's flotilla. Under these circumstances he returned to the *Wolodomer*, to prevent giving any alarm, with the intention of renewing the attempt at an earlier hour the following night. Without waiting to receive Jones's report, Potemkin sent orders for him to abandon the enterprise, as he had intrusted it to other ships. The weather continued favorable for several successive nights, but the "other ships," as Jones remarks, did nothing. His mortification was excessive; but still greater awaited him.

On the 13th of October, being the day after Jones had received the order to abandon the trifling enterprise in which he had failed from want of time to perform it, Potemkin sent Jones the following order; "As the Captain Pacha has been observed passing in his Kirlangitch from the grand fleet to the small-

er vessels, and as before quitting this he may resolve to attempt something, I request your Excellency, as the Captain Pacha is superior in vessels, to hold yourself in readiness to receive him courageously, and drive him back. I require that the preparations be made without loss of time, if not, you will be made answerable for every neglect. I have already ordered the flotilla to approach. Potemkin Tauricien."

At the bottom of this order is found written in Jones's hand,— "A warrior is always ready, and I had not come there an apprentice." It would have spared him much future regret, if he had confined himself to this brief testimony to the unpalatableness of this order. He might have benefited by the example of Nassau, who had already departed in disgrace. Unfortunately he entered, in reply, into a labored defence of himself, which implied some blame in Potemkin. He promised, somewhat sarcastically, that his followers would do their duty "courageously," though they had not yet been rewarded for the important services which they had already performed; and

added, that it was on the sacred promise which he had made to them of demanding justice from Potemkin, on their behalf, that they had consented to stifle their grievances and remain silent.

Several additional letters passed, having reference to the arrangement of the squadron and flotilla so as to guard against an attack from the Pacha. Jones very imprudently mixed up his business communications with complaints of ill-treatment on various occasions, especially with regard to the pitching the gun overboard. "I leave to your Highness," he wrote, "as you have a noble heart and magnanimous soul, to judge whether I ought not to have been offended at your sudden order of the next morning, before you had heard any reasons I had to offer." The gross flattery of this passage did not make its censure palatable. In objecting to one of Potemkin's orders with regard to the position of part of the squadron, Jones put forth the following expression; "Every man, who thinks, is master of his own opinion; and this is mine." This might be very good doctrine in the United

States, but was not well suited to be addressed, in Russia, to the man whom rumor has even accused of striking the Empress, and to whom she herself, in rendering an account of some of her measures at the other extremity of the empire, once wrote, more in earnest perhaps than she fancied, "Have I done right, my master?"

The result of Jones's being "master of his own opinion," and failing to keep it to himself, was the arrival of an order the next day from Potemkin, given in conformity with Jones's opinion. It terminated very ominously, however, with the expression which had already given offence. "Should the enemy attempt to pass to Oczakow, prevent him by every means, and defend yourself courageously." Jones appended to the order the following expression of conscious, though wounded pride; "It will be hard to believe that Prince Potemkin addressed such words to Paul Jones!" By way of further commentary upon the independence of Jones's opinions, Admiral Mor-dwinoff arrived on the following day, being the 18th of October, to take command of both



the squadron and flotilla ; a piece of information which was communicated to Jones in the following softened terms. “ According to the special desire of her Imperial Majesty, your service is fixed in the northern seas ; and as this squadron and the flotilla are placed, by me, under the orders of Vice-Admiral Mordwinoff, your Excellency may, in consequence, proceed on the voyage directed ; especially as the squadron in the Liman cannot now, on account of the advanced season, be united with that of Sevastopol.”

Jones says, that some malicious persons persuaded Potemkin, that he had ridiculed his military conduct in the siege of Oczakow ; and vented strictures on his unnecessary delays in reducing the place. If such were the case, his enmity is easily accounted for. He in vain attempted to change the purpose of Potemkin ; expressed his regret for the hastiness of his expressions, his readiness to do all that could be required of a man of honor to continue in the service, and his willingness to perform any duty which the Prince could point out for the good of the empire. Po-

temkin was inexorable. It only remained for Jones to take his leave. Affecting to find an honor in being called by the Empress, who in fact had nothing to do with it, to a command in the northern seas, rather than a disgrace in being dismissed from his command in the Euxine, Jones thus wrote to Potemkin. "I am much flattered, that her Majesty yet deigns to interest herself about me; but what I shall for ever regret is, the loss of your regard. I will not say, that it is difficult to find more skilful sea-officers than myself; I know well, that it is a very possible thing; but I feel emboldened to say, that you will never find a man more susceptible of a faithful attachment, or more zealous in the discharge of his duty. I forgive my enemies who are near you, for the painful blow aimed at me; but if there is a just God, it will be difficult for him to do as much. I wish you, my Prince, complete success in your military operations, and continued happiness during the rest of your life."

It was a poor way to soothe the ungovernable Potemkin, to charge the persons who

were near him, with being the authors of his disgrace. In the interview to which he subsequently admitted Jones, to take leave, he was careful to undeceive him on this point, to which Jones probably again imprudently adverted. "Don't believe," he exclaimed, rising and stamping his foot with rage, "that any one leads me ! no one leads me ! not even the Empress." With regard to the Prince of Nassau, and his pretensions to have effected great services with his flotilla, Potemkin disavowed having ever been deceived or influenced by him. "He pretended," Potemkin said, "that all was done by himself ; but I have never been deceived by him. I have always known him for what he is." In fact, Potemkin had some time before taken offence at Nassau's presumption in offering, if he were intrusted with an assault of Oczakow, to effect a practicable breach in a weak part of the fortress, which he had discovered, and which could easily be made wide enough for the passage of a regiment. Offended at this vain boast, Potemkin sarcastically inquired of him, how many breaches he had opened at

Gibraltar. Nassau, who had reaped no laurels there, was in turn offended, and applied to the Empress for his recall. It was granted, and he was soon after intrusted with the command of the Russian galley fleet in the Baltic. Assisted by some able officers, he gained a victory over the fleet of Sweden, which had now declared war against Russia. Subsequently, in an engagement with a Swedish fleet of half the size of his own, commanded by Gustavus the Third, Nassau, being less judiciously advised, was shamefully beaten. His arrogance, however, led him to ascribe the reverse to a desire, on the part of his Russian followers, to tarnish his glory. In this insolent spirit, he wrote to the Empress. "Madam! I have had the misfortune to fight against the Swedes, the elements, and the Russians. I hope your Majesty will do me justice." He was a favorite with the Empress, and she received him kindly, loaded him with wealth and honors, but did not again employ him. He subsequently entered the service of Prussia. Despite of the brilliancy of his title, he appears to have been

an adventurer, more needy than Paul Jones, while he was far less suited to win distinction by honorable enterprise.

In order to get rid for ever of this captious and eccentric Prince, who had so unfavorably influenced the fortunes of our hero, we have anticipated some events, which could not of course have been disclosed in the interview with Potemkin. Jones could sympathize heartily with Potemkin in his contempt for the man ; and he was no doubt soothed by the admission which the Prince now made, that he had done wrong in dividing the command of the squadron and flotilla. Their accordancy in condemning Nassau, after their disagreement on so many other subjects, seemed to put Potemkin in a better humor, than at the beginning of the interview, and to prepare him for the request, which Jones, according to his custom, probably made, for a testimonial of good conduct to be presented to the Empress. At any rate, he did not commence his journey without the following complimentary, though guarded epistle. “Madam. In sending to the high throne of your Imperial Maj-



esty, Rear-Admiral Mr. Paul Jones, I take, with submission, the liberty of certifying to the eagerness and zeal, which he has ever shown for the service of your Imperial Majesty, and to render himself worthy of the high favor of your Imperial Majesty. From the most faithful subject of your Imperial Majesty. Potemkin Tauricien." At the moment of taking leave, Potemkin became still more gracious; and, finally, dismissed our hero with the following charge, and an assurance, which would have been more encouraging, had it accorded better with the experience of the past. "Relly upon my attachment! I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present, and for the future."

Having heard that a report was in circulation in the army, that he had been deprived of his command, because the officers of his squadron were unwilling to serve under him, Jones had a paper drawn up, contradicting the report, and endeavoured to procure signatures from the officers. Russia was not, however, the country for certificates. The officers admitted to Jones, in the presence of witness-

es, that the statement contained nothing but pure truth, yet they declined signing it for imperative reasons. It only remained for Jones to depart with the certificate which he had received from the omnipotent Potemkin, lamenting, as he went, "that the mind is not always free; and that men sometimes dare not render homage to truth."

On the 19th of November, Paul Jones embarked in an open galley for Cherson. The weather was excessively cold, the ice was already beginning to form in the Dnieper, and he suffered so much from the exposure during three days which the voyage occupied, that on his arrival at Cherson, he found himself dangerously ill. It was nearly a month before he was in a condition to resume his journey. On the 6th of December, he again set forward, on which day he learned, on his arrival at St. Elizabeth, that Oczakow had been taken by storm. The garrison was eleven thousand strong; but they were completely benumbed by the severity of the weather. The past inactivity of Potemkin, who had long been negotiating to bribe the governor into a surren-

der, had not prepared them for any measure of vigor. The Russian army, being strung with fresh vigor by the cold, rushed briskly to the assault, at dawn of day, in six columns. The Turks became panic stricken, and the assailants were everywhere triumphant ; neither the garrison nor the peaceful inhabitants were spared, and the number of the slaughtered was estimated at thirty thousand. Jones also learned, and perhaps the weakness of human nature made him learn it with satisfaction, that Admiral Mordwinoff, after having been intrusted with full powers, without which he had declined accepting the command, had committed various blunders, provoked the displeasure of Potemkin, and had been dismissed from his station in disgrace. The fact is so far favorable to Jones, that it showed that it was not an easy task to please Potemkin.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Paul Jones returns to St. Petersburg. — Submits new Projects. — His Suggestions to Mr. Jefferson. — He falls into Disgrace. — Imputations against his Character. — Is charged with Immorality. — Defended by Count Ségur. — Jones addresses the Empress. — Is pronounced innocent. — Asks for Employment. — Receives Leave of Absence. — Submits new Projects. — Departs from Russia. — Arrives at Warsaw. — Intimacy with Kosciusko. — Journey to Vienna. — Arrival at Amsterdam. — Contemplated Service in the Swedish Navy. — Jones resumes his American Correspondence. — Addresses the French and Russian Ministers at Copenhagen. — Visits London. — Supposes himself in Danger. — Motives for not visiting his Relations. — Returns to Paris. — Appeal to Potemkin. — Letter to his Sister. — Attempt to reconcile his Family.

PAUL JONES arrived at St. Petersburg on the 28th of December, 1788. His second entry into the capital of Russia was made under very different circumstances from the first. In coming from Sweden to offer his services to the Empress, no opposition of seasons or elements could arrest or turn him from his path. Now, after a journey, which he had purposely prolonged by loitering on the way, he was again in the capital, a disappointed man, doubtful of the favor of the sovereign who had not long before so graciously received him, and

prepared to find enemies and detractors in so many who had been too happy to reflect upon him the sunshine of the court. Willing, however, to test his position in the favor of the Empress, he asked an interview on the day after his arrival, and was admitted on the following day to a private audience, in which he presented the letter of Potemkin. In this interview he received the assurance, that, on the arrival of Potemkin, some decision would be made with regard to his future employment.

Potemkin did not arrive until the middle of February of the following year. And, as a month and a half was too long a time for Jones's impatient temperament to leave him idle, he, in addition to personal applications for service, sent in a project for forming a political and commercial alliance with the United States. He represented this alliance, and the commerce which would spring from it, as the best means of forming a school for seamen. The commerce of the Black Sea was very advantageous to Russia; but it would always be interrupted by the Turks,



until Russia had a formidable fleet in that sea, commanded by an experienced admiral, with a properly instructed staff. This fleet would form at the same time a school of evolutions, and keep the Turks in check, and, when the favorable moment arrived, place the key of Constantinople in the hands of the Empress. In connexion with this project, he suggested the advantage to Russia of having a port on the Asiatic side of the Euxine, to serve as a sentinel-post on the Turks, and pointed out a peninsula between Sinople and Constantinople, which he thought well suited to that purpose. Of course the author of the scheme was to be intrusted with its execution, and when Jones adverted to the commanding admiral, he was thinking of himself.

On the arrival of Potemkin, Jones submitted his project to him also. Potemkin encouraged him with the assurance that it contained some good ideas, but that he did not think it expedient to adopt it at that time, lest it might increase the irritation of England. To Mr. Jefferson he suggested the same project of an alliance between Russia and the United States,

which, while it should concede to Russia the right to enlist seaman for her fleets in America, should secure in return to the latter the free navigation of the Black Sea, after the conclusion of the war. Inasmuch as the Turks and Algerines had united their forces before Oczakow, he drew the conclusion, that, if the United States were still bent on making war upon Algiers, the treaty might provide for a combined attack. Jones thought that in such a case he could obtain command of the Russian force destined to act in conjunction with that of the United States. His object no doubt was to take the initiative in a treaty between the two countries, and thus make himself of consequence to both, and bring back from Mr. Jefferson some manifestation in favor of his project upon Algiers, which might fortify his application for employment. In previous letters he had asked Mr. Jefferson to send him some information concerning Madame T—. Interest, however, had as much to do with his inquiries as love. He mentioned that besides supplying her from his purse, he had been foolish enough to borrow for her four

thousand and four hundred livres. Subsequently he had given her money to pay off the debt, and he was anxious to learn if she had done so. He also begged Mr. Jefferson to have four gold medals struck for him from the die which Congress had instructed Mr. Jefferson to have made in honor of the victory over the *Serapis*. He was desirous of presenting one of these to Congress, one to the King of France, and another to the Empress. He completed his catalogue of requests by asking Mr. Jefferson to send copies of his bust to a number of friends in America, whose names he forwarded.

It does not appear that Jones's first letters, written from the Black Sea, were received; for he learned, with great mortification, that the letter from St. Petersburg, proposing an alliance between Russia and the United States, was the only proof his friends had received of his existence since his departure from Copenhagen. It proved to him both that his letters had been intercepted, and that his career in the Liman had not been truly represented; on examination of the official reports

which had been forwarded from the scene of war, he pronounced them false even in their most trifling details.

Among the complaints which Jones made in his journal, presented afterwards to the Empress, of the depreciation of his services, and the imperfect manner in which they had been requited, he mentioned the splendid offers which the Empress was reported about this time to have made to Admiral Kinsbergen to quit Holland and enter the service of Russia. He was offered the rank of vice-admiral, the order of Alexander Newsky, and twenty thousand roubles a year. He was said, however, to have refused these offers, because he had lately married a wife with a fortune which enabled him to live in independence at home. Jones said that when he entered the Russian service, he had stipulated nothing with regard to his personal interests. "I have a soul too noble for that," he says, "and if my heart had not been enlisted for her Majesty, I would never have drawn my sword in her cause. I have now nothing for it but, like Admiral Kinsbergen, to marry a rich wife ; but I have

sufficient to support me wherever I choose, and I know enough of the world to be a philosopher.”

Causes, however, were at this time in operation to convince Jones that he was not so immovable a philosopher as he fancied himself. His favor at the court was found to be sensibly on the wane. At first at a loss to what circumstance to attribute it, he at length came to the conclusion that it was owing to the enmity of the English, by which he had been steadily pursued since his arrival in the country. They could not forgive him his abandonment of his native country in her struggle with the colonies, the terror which he had spread along her coasts, and his brilliant triumphs over her arms. On his arrival, he had been stigmatized with the epithets of smuggler, renegade, and pirate. The old story of the carpenter whom he had flogged while in the West India trade was now revived, and converted into an accusation of his having murdered his own nephew. In his journal he takes occasion to disprove the charge, asserts that he never had a nephew



under his command, and mentions that he has one dear nephew, then pursuing his studies, whom he had intended for the Russian navy when his age would admit. "Instead of embroiling my hands in his blood, he will be cherished as my son." With regard to his treatment of his crews, he mentions, that although he delighted in good discipline, as indispensable to the success of military operations, especially at sea, where men are crowded into such close contact, he had always been able to secure it without flogging, though in the American navy the regulations were the same as in the English, where this punishment was frequently inflicted. It appears from concurrent testimony that Jones did not frequently punish his sailors; at the same time his difficulties in every ship which he commanded show, that he was not able to win their affections.

He defended himself from the general charge of cruelty, by instancing his strenuous and effectual efforts to release the American prisoners from their painful bondage. "If," he says, "I have sacrificed my personal tran-

quillity and my domestic happiness, with a portion of my fortune and my blood, to set at liberty these virtuous and innocent men, have I not given proofs sufficiently striking that I have a heart the most sensitive, a soul the most elevated? I have done more than all this. So far from being harsh and cruel, nature has given me the mildest disposition. I was formed for love and friendship, and not to be a seaman or a soldier; as it is, I have sacrificed my natural inclination." It is quite evident that the evil opinion of others did not have the effect of sinking our hero in his own. He was an enthusiast in his own favor; and as he repeats, in more than one place, the same estimate of himself, and the same belief that his inclination led him to turn with aversion from the horrors of war in search of a life of "calm contemplation and poetic ease," it is reasonable to think that the opinion was as sincere as it was mistaken.

A passage in Paul Jones's journal conveys the idea, that, among his enemies and detractors, persons of more importance were numbered than the English officers whom he had

superseded in rank. "It is painful, for the honor of human nature," he writes, "to reflect how many malevolent and deceitful persons surround the great, and particularly crowned heads. I speak from my own unhappy experience." He mentions that malicious misstatements had been made to Prince Potemkin, while he served under him in the Liman, of his having ridiculed the Prince's military conduct in prosecuting the siege of Oczakow. These reports may have come from the Prince of Nassau before he quarrelled with Potemkin; and the same individual may have aided now in effecting his ruin with the Empress, both being candidates to succeed Admiral Greig in the command of the Baltic fleet. At all events his favor at court declined rapidly. His occasional invitations to dinner and other court entertainments became infrequent. At length they ceased entirely, and on his appearing, in the month of April, to pay his respects to the Empress, he was unceremoniously ordered away.

The cause of this sudden disgrace is supposed to have been a conspiracy at this time

set in motion by Paul Jones's enemies to blast his moral character, and ruin him entirely with the Empress, who, however notoriously unscrupulous herself, could not countenance a glaring breach of decency in an officer high in rank in her service. Instigated, as it is stated in Ségur's "Memoirs," by the enemies of Jones, a woman of bad character accused him of assaulting her daughter, a girl only twelve years old. This report was quickly borne to court, and occasioned his dismissal from the royal presence. The discreditable story, and the account of his disgrace, spread far and wide. Jones found himself suddenly abandoned by his friends, no door was open to him, people avoided speaking to him in the street, no advocate would take charge of his cause, and even his domestics abandoned his service. One only friend gave him an opportunity of relating his story, and, being convinced of his innocence, generously came forward in his defence. The Count de Ségur, then French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, having known Jones in America, where he had served under Rochambeau, called at

his lodgings to hear what he had to say in his defence. He found him plunged in grief, his pistols were before him on the table, and he seemed to be meditating some desperate act. The visit of Count Ségur affected him to tears. He said, that he had been unwilling to knock at the Count's door, and expose himself to a fresh affront, which would have been more cutting than all. He had braved death many times; now he wished for it. The Count urged him to resume his composure, and if he were innocent, to endeavour to prove it, and thus destroy the calumny by which he was assailed; if not, to confess his offence frankly, and the Count would endeavour to aid his escape.

Jones protested on his honor, that he was innocent, and a victim of the most infamous calumny; he said, that, some days before, a young girl had come to him in the morning, to ask if he could give her some linen or lace to mend. Having no work for her, he had given her some money, and dismissed her; but she seemed determined to remain. Impatient at her resistance, he had taken her



by the hand and led her to the door ; but at the instant when the door was opened, she commenced shrieking, and complained that he had assaulted her. She then threw herself into the arms of an old woman, whom she called her mother. The mother and daughter immediately raised the house with their cries, and then went and denounced him to the police.

Thus in possession of the facts, the benevolent ambassador went forth, and set on foot various inquiries as to the character of the persons, who had brought this infamous charge. The result was, the collection of conclusive evidence, as to their unworthiness of belief, and a strong impression on the mind of Ségur, that the whole affair had its origin in a conspiracy to destroy Paul Jones. In a letter which Jones addressed to Potemkin in his own defence, he wrote ; “ After the examination of my people before the police, I sent for, and employed, Monsieur Crimpin as my advocate. As the mother had addressed herself to him before, to plead her cause, she naturally spoke to him without reserve, and he learned

from her a number of important facts ; among others, that she was counselled and supported by a distinguished man of the court." As another evidence of secret interest of this sort at work against him, Jones mentions in the same letter the following fact ; "I thought that in every country, a man accused had a right to employ counsel, and to avail himself of his friends for his justification. Judge, my prince, of my astonishment and distress of mind, when I yesterday was informed, that, the day before, the governor of the city had sent for my advocate, and forbidden him, at his peril, or any other person, to meddle with my cause. I am innocent before God ! and my conscience knows no reproach. If your Highness will condescend to question Monsieur Crimpin, for he dares not now even speak to me, he will tell you many circumstances which will elucidate my innocence."

The benevolent Ségur, having at length possessed himself of various certificates to overthrow the evidence of Paul Jones's accusers, advised him to address the Empress in his own vindication. This he did, in a very able

letter, in which, after recapitulating the circumstances under which he entered her service, and his exertions in her cause, he goes on to say ; “ Such was my situation when, upon the mere accusation of a crime, the very idea of which wounds my delicacy, I found myself driven from court, deprived of the good opinion of your Majesty, and forced to employ the time, which I wish to devote to the defence of your empire, in cleansing from myself the stains with which calumny has covered me. Condescend to believe, Madam, that if I had received the slightest hint, that a complaint of such a nature had been made against me, and still more, that it had come to your Majesty’s knowledge, I know too well what is owing to delicacy, to have ventured to appear before you till I was completely exculpated.”

He went on to state the difficulties, which had been thrown in the way of his exculpation, by the withdrawal of his advocate, but that he had still been able to collect conclusive proof of his innocence, which he begged the Empress to order to be investigated, when

it would clearly appear, as he said, "that my crime is a fiction, invented by the cupidity of a wretched woman, whose avarice has been countenanced, perhaps incited, by the malice of my numerous enemies. Take a soldier's word, Madam; believe an officer whom two great nations esteem, and who has been honored with flattering marks of their approbation, I am innocent; and if I were guilty, I would not hesitate to make a candid avowal of my fault, and to commit my honor, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the hands of your Majesty."

"If you deign, Madam, to give heed to this declaration, proceeding from a heart the most frank and loyal, I venture from your justice to expect, that my zeal will not remain longer in shameful and humiliating inaction. It has been useful to your Majesty, and may again be so, especially in the Mediterranean, where, with insignificant means, I will undertake to execute important operations, the plans for which I have meditated long and deeply. But if circumstances, of which I am ignorant, do not admit the possibility of my being em-

ployed during the campaign, I hope your Majesty will give me permission to return to France or America, granting as the sole reward of the services, I have had the happiness to render, the hope of renewing them at some future day."

Ségur charged himself with forwarding this letter, dated on the 17th of May, 1789, by the post from a neighbouring town, so as to prevent its being intercepted. It reached the Empress, and was attentively read. She ordered the requested investigation, and being convinced of Paul Jones's innocence, revoked her orders excluding him from court, and subsequently received him with her former kindness. Projects of expeditions began once more to effervesce in his mind. On the 6th of June, he had an interview with Count Besborodko, in which he offered to cut off the commerce in corn, rice, and coffee, between Constantinople and Egypt, and the coast of Syria, and thus compel the Turks to withdraw a portion of their fleet from the Black Sea. To effect this service, Jones asked for five old English East-Indiamen, mounted each with



from forty to fifty guns. They could proceed to Naples under the English flag, as if on a trading voyage; and there he would commission them, and induce most of their crews to enter the Russian service; seamen, to complete their crews as men of war, could readily be enlisted in Naples and Malta. The plan contemplated the employment of a couple of French vessels, trading to Smyrna, to furnish the squadron with constant intelligence of what was passing at Constantinople. This scheme, like all those of Jones's, was original, ingenious, and well conceived, and involved a complete attention to details. He doubtless underrated, however, the difficulty of keeping such an expedition secret, and the obstacles which the British government would be likely to throw in the way of its equipment. The minister appeared pleased with the project, promised to submit it to the Empress, and proposed, at any rate, to give Paul Jones a command in the Black Sea, with which he might force his way into the Mediterranean.

In a subsequent visit, the minister promised Jones that he should be informed, within two

days, whether it was the Empress's pleasure to give him a command, or the temporary leave of absence, for which he had conditionally asked, in his letter of the 17th of May. The two days, and many more, having glided by without the promised decision, Paul Jones wrote on the 24th of June, to refresh the minister's memory, and to ask leave to call on the following day to receive it. He took occasion to remark, that the minister's proposal of placing him in command of a squadron in the Black Sea, might be very advantageously blended with his own, with regard to the squadron of East-Indiamen, which might form a junction under his orders. In conclusion, he reminded the minister, that he was the only officer who had made the campaign of the Liman without promotion.

The bubbling well-spring of expeditionary projects, which was now overflowing from Paul Jones's inventive brain, was, however, effectually checked on the 27th of June, by his being officially informed that his request for a leave of absence was granted, and that he was permitted to absent himself from the

empire for two years. His salary was to continue. This notification was equally unexpected and unwelcome. He had no choice, however, but to accept it with a good grace, and depart accordingly. On the 7th of July he was admitted to an audience to take leave of the Empress, and on kissing her hand she wished him a pleasant journey, or, as it was more expressively said in French, "bon voyage!"

Jones did not, however, commence the realization of this wish, without taking occasion to speak his mind with some freedom to the minister, with whom he had been in correspondence. He wrote to him, on the 14th of July, to say, that he had called, two days before, to ask for his commission, his passport, and the leave of absence which her Majesty had thought fit to grant him. "Though I have perceived," he wrote, "on several former occasions, that you have shunned giving me an opportunity to speak with you, I made myself certain that this could not occur at a last interview; and I confess I was very much surprised to see you go out by another door,

and depart without a single expression of ordinary civility addressed to me, at the moment of my departure, to console me for all the bitter mortifications I have endured in this empire. Before coming to Russia, I had been connected with several governments, and no minister ever either refused me an audience, or failed to reply to my letters. I am aware that your Excellency is sometimes teased by importunate persons; but as I am a man of delicacy in every thing, I desire to be distinguished from the crowd."

Without stopping to dispute Jones's claim to be a man of delicacy, we must say that he exhibited very little tact in thus opening a letter in the sequel of which he requested, as he was soon again to be connected with his old friends, constituting the government of the United States, to be appointed to forward the project of an alliance between Russia and the United States, in conformity with a proposition, which he had previously laid before the government. He also stated, upon what authority it is not now easy to discover, that the United States were about to propose to

the European powers to form a confederation for making war against the Barbary pirates, until they should be annihilated as maritime powers. He thought that it would be worthy of the august sovereign of Russia to place herself at the head of so honorable an alliance, and said, in conclusion, that it would give him pleasure to be appointed to make known to the United States, the intentions of the Empress, on these two points, trusting that he would be able to acquit himself of so honorable a duty to the minister's satisfaction.

These suggestions seem to have been thrown away on the minister, but in other respects his civility was shown by the promptness with which he forwarded the passport on the succeeding day. Paul Jones did not, however, depart until the end of the following month. Long after, in a letter to Potemkin, he ascribes this detention to the agency of the government, to whom his enemies had made a representation that he was about to take service in the Swedish navy. He mentions this imputation with a sneer; but after occurrences render it neither impossible nor



unlikely that propositions of this nature had already been made to him, or that the thought of accepting them had passed through his mind.

Towards the close of August, Jones took his final leave of the Russian capital. The disinterested and benevolent friendship of Count Ségur accompanied him on his way, enabling him to carry with him commendatory letters to the French ministers at the various courts on the way, and to persons of the highest rank and station in Paris, explaining the circumstances under which he left Russia, and vindicating his character from the aspersions which had been cast upon it. Ségur also prepared a newspaper paragraph to the same effect, and forwarded it to the Count Montmorin, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, to be published in the *Gazette de France*, and other journals of the capital. M. Genet, Secretary of the French Legation, whose father had been a warm friend of Paul Jones, also wrote to his sister, the distinguished Madam Campan, stating the circumstances under which Jones left Russia, and the unfounded nature of the

calumnies which had been circulated against him, in order that she might correct any rumors to his disadvantage which might be circulated at Versailles, and thus prepare his friends about the court to receive him with their wonted kindness. M. Genet also charged himself with receiving and transmitting Jones's arrears of pay as they fell due. This is the same person who subsequently acted so extraordinary a part in the United States, as representative of the French Republic.

Paul Jones had intended proceeding to Copenhagen, with the double motive, doubtless, of prosecuting his claim on account of the prizes sent into Norway, and being at hand to receive propositions from Sweden. On his arrival at Warsaw, he was advised by his friends not to appear at the courts of Berlin or Copenhagen, as, in the unfriendly state of those courts towards Russia, advantage might be taken of the circumstance, to strengthen the insinuation that he was inclined to enter the navy of Sweden. He therefore remained in Warsaw two months, and it is not wholly improbable that the influence of Russia may

have detained him there. During this time he was kindly received by the titular King and his court, and hospitably entertained by the nobility. He employed his leisure in preparing a copy of his journal from the beginning of his service in the United States, down to the conclusion of the campaign in the Liman, for the perusal of the Emprèss Catharine, which he forwarded to her with a letter, expressive of his anxiety to regain her "precious esteem."

While at Warsaw, Paul Jones became intimate with Kosciusko; their mutual services in giving freedom to America, though rendered on different elements, created a bond of sympathy between them, and brought them together as friends. Kosciusko was then deep in the unfortunate conspiracy to throw off the yoke of Russia, which broke out a few months after, and which the treachery of Prussia, which power had chiefly instigated it, rendered so disastrous. It is certain that the project of Paul Jones's entering the Swedish navy was the subject of discussion between them. On the 2d of November, Jones wrote to Kos-

ciusko to announce to him that he should depart on that day for Vienna, on his way to Holland, and to give his address in Amsterdam. At Vienna he was unable to have an audience of the Emperor, who was ill; and he achieved nothing that can be gleaned from his correspondence, beyond delivering a fan and some other trifles to a young lady in a convent, from her mother, the Countess de Valery, in Warsaw. With the young lady he also deposited a pencil-marked copy of Thomson's "Seasons," to be presented to her mamma, to whom he addressed a just eulogium of a work which was evidently a favorite with him. As Berlin is in the direct track from Warsaw to Amsterdam, the three places forming in fact, a right line on the map, it is not easy to account for his turning so entirely aside from his path as to go to Vienna. It is very likely that the influence of the Russian government was exerted to keep him out of the reach and influence of courts which were in enmity with it. Though the Empress had relinquished the services of Paul Jones with little ceremony, she did not,

perhaps, contemplate with indifference the chances of his meeting her fleets at the head of her enemies. This feeling was probably expressed by Baron Krudner, the Russian minister at Copenhagen, who had probably been directed to watch Paul Jones's movements, when he wrote to him in reply to a letter which he had received from him, and, after speculating on the probable continuance of the war, said ; " At all events I flatter myself, as a good Russian, that your arm is still reserved for us."

At Amsterdam, Paul Jones received the expected letter from Kosciusko, which was evidently considered of importance, as it was personally delivered to Jones's bankers, and a receipt taken. It mentioned that the Swedish minister at Warsaw had informed him that both himself and the Swedish minister at Amsterdam had orders to make propositions to Paul Jones. Kosciusko states his ignorance of their purport ; but as he immediately adds an expression of his wish to see Paul Jones fighting against oppression and tyranny, they could only have had reference to his accepting a command in the Swedish fleet to act against



Russia. A document of this period among his published papers is suited to throw some light on this subject. It seems to have been prepared for publication in the event of his accepting an appointment in the Swedish navy, and was designed to prepare the public mind for so sudden a transition. It was as follows: "Notice. The Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, desirous of making known unequivocally his manner of thinking in relation to his military connexion with Russia, declares: 1. That he has at all times expressed to her Imperial Majesty of Russia, his vow to preserve the condition of an American citizen and officer. 2. That having been honored by his Most Christian Majesty with a gold sword, he has made a like vow never to draw it on any occasion when war might be waged against his Majesty's interest. 3. That circumstances which the Rear-admiral could not have foreseen make him feel a presentiment, that, in spite of his attachment and gratitude to her Imperial Majesty, and notwithstanding the advantageous propositions which may be made to him, he will probably renounce the service.

of that power, even before the expiration of the leave of absence which he now enjoys."

The distinct declaration that he could never be engaged against America or France, coupled with his failure to declare the same thing with regard to Russia, at a moment, when he was announcing his probable abandonment of her service, plainly prove, that he contemplated serving against her. Paul Jones was not particular as to the banner under which he served. The cause was to him of inferior importance, to the opportunity of winning glory. When he had once brought himself to fight against his own country, in defence of freedom and universal philanthropy, he could easily have persuaded himself, if necessary, that the cause of the Empress against the Turks was a pious and Christian one. And so with regard to Sweden against Russia, Kosciusko had expressed the fervent hope of seeing him fight against "oppression and tyranny." The favors which he had received in Russia had been balanced, in his own mind, by the services which he had rendered, and ten times cancelled by the circumstances of

his expulsion, as his leave of absence might perhaps be most properly denominated. The chances of meeting his once treacherous and capricious friend, his subsequent presuming, and vainglorious rival, and his late supposed concealed enemy, the Prince of Nassau, in deadly conflict, each at the head of an opposing fleet, must have offered to his mind no slight temptation. Their comparative merits as courageous and skilful captains might then have been fairly tested in the presence of the world. What is most reprehensible in Paul Jones's probable readiness at this time to change his flag, and fight against that which he had so recently fought under, was the inconsistency of such feelings with his simultaneous expressions of regard for the Empress, and of his ardent desire to regain her "precious esteem." At any rate, there is little doubt that his failing to follow Kosciusko's suggestion with regard to entering the service of Sweden, was not owing to his own reluctance. This is manifest from his reply to Kosciusko.

"You propose, if I am not mistaken, that

I should apply to a gentleman at the Hague, who has something to communicate to me. But a moment's reflection will convince you, that considerations of what I owe to myself, as well as the delicacy of my situation, do not permit me to take such a step. If that gentleman has any thing to communicate to me, he can either do it by writing, by desiring a personal conference, or by the mediation of a third person. I have shown your letter to my bankers, and they have said this much to the gentleman from whom they received it; but this message, they say, he received with an air of indifference." Thus, whatever desire the Swedish government might have had to procure the services of Paul Jones, had probably ceased.

Paul Jones made use of his abundant leisure at Amsterdam, by resuming his former habits of active correspondence. He wrote to Washington, to enclose a friendly letter from Count Ségur, and to congratulate him on his election to the station of the President, under the new constitution; he dealt profusely, as usual, in those extravagant compliments

to which he was naturally prone, and which his French associations had taught him to express with familiar dexterity. "In war," he wrote, "your fame is immortal, as the hero of liberty! In peace, you are her patron, and the firmest supporter of her rights!" He alluded to the unsuccessful result of his negotiation with Denmark, for indemnity for his prizes, and put forth the following sensible sentiment. "I was received, and treated there with marked politeness; and if the fine words I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own, however, that I should have stronger hopes, if America had created a respectable marine; for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe."

He also wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson, then secretary of Congress, and, in the course of his letter, begged him to make inquiry about a small but convenient estate near Lancaster, which that gentleman had mentioned to him as being for sale; and asked his advice with regard to the purchase. In a letter to Mr. John Ross, who took charge of his



funds in the United States, he also adverted to the same subject, and intimated an intention to return to the United States in the course of the summer, in which case it would be his wish to purchase a little farm, where he might live in peace. To his most venerated friend, Dr. Franklin, he also wrote, enclosing the documents, with which the friendship of Count Ségur had furnished him, in order, as he writes, to “explain to you in some degree my reasons for leaving Russia, and the danger to which I was exposed, by the dark intrigues and mean subterfuges of Asiatic jealousy and malice.” He expressed the hope that Franklin’s friendship, which he had always been ambitious to merit, would be exerted to use the documents which he enclosed to him, for his justification in the eyes of his friends in America, whose favorable opinion had ever been so dear to him.

He also wrote to Mr. John Parish, a merchant of Hamburg, enclosing letters to the French and Russian ministers at Copenhagen. After thanking Mr. Parish for the kindness which he had received from him, when he

passed through Hamburg, on his journey to Copenhagen, he concluded by saying jocosely, that as he was then master of his time, he would perhaps visit Hamburg in the coming spring, "and pay court to some of your kind, rich old ladies. To be serious, I must stay in Europe till it is seen what changes the present politics will produce, and till I can hear from America; and if you think I can pass my time quietly, agreeably, and at a small expense at Hamburg, I should prefer it to the fluctuating prospects of other places."

Of the letters enclosed to Mr. Parish, that to the Baron de la Houze, the French minister at Copenhagen, likewise enclosed copies of the justificatory documents, with which Count Ségur had furnished him. It also asked for information with regard to the progress of the claim against Denmark. The minister in his answer, expressed his satisfaction at Ségur's complete vindication of Paul Jones, from the calumny, by which he had been assailed, and for his greater comfort, likened him to Themistocles, when forced to exclaim; "I do not envy the situation of the man, who is not

envied !” He further replied, that nothing more had been done in relation to the claim, with regard to which he had not been invested with powers to treat. The letter to Baron Krudner, the Russian minister, enclosed on the same occasion, referred him to the French minister, for a perusal of the documents in relation to the circumstances which had attended his departure from St. Petersburg. He entered into a defence of his services in the cause of the Empress, and complained of the manner in which they had been requited ; towards the close of his letter, he alluded to the patent, for a pension of fifteen hundred crowns, which had been forwarded to him by the Danish government, through its minister at St. Petersburg. It seems that Baron Krudner had had some knowledge of the grant at the time it was made, and had seen the patent in which it was conferred, before it was sent off to St. Petersburg. He was, in fact, as appears from Paul Jones’s letter to him, the only person, beyond the parties interested, who had any knowledge of the transaction. Jones now requested him to procure it, to be paid at Am-

sterdam, and expressed the hope that it would not be paid in Danish bank paper. Baron Krudner replied, that the Danish Prime Minister readily promised to pay the pension at Copenhagen, to any person who might appear on Jones's part duly authorized to receive it; but that it could only be paid in the money of the country. After such a promise, it is not easy to see how the pension could have been withheld when properly called for; though in Jones's will, the whole amount of it, from the time at which it was granted, is set down as due.

Among the numerous letters written by Jones at this period, is one to his sister, Mrs. Taylor, which is interesting, as evincing the warmth of affection, with which, after so long a separation, he still turned to the companions of his childhood. He expresses great solicitude for the welfare of Mrs. Taylor and his younger sister, Mrs. Loudon, who, with their descendants, were the only surviving members of his family. "I have a tender regard," he writes, "for you both, and nothing can be indifferent to me that regards your happiness

and the welfare of your children. I wish for a particular detail of their age, respective talents, characters, and education. I do not desire this information merely from curiosity. It would afford me real satisfaction to be useful to their establishment in life. We must study the genius and inclination of the boys, and try to fit them, by a suitable education, to the pursuits we may be able to adopt for their advantage. When their education shall be advanced to a proper stage at the school of Dumfries, it must then be determined whether it may be most economical and advantageous for them to go to Edinburgh or France to finish their studies. All this is supposing them to have great natural genius and goodness of disposition; for, without these, they can never be eminent. For the females, they require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming in their sex. I wish I had a fortune to offer to each of them; but though this is not the case, I may yet be useful to them. And I desire particularly to be useful to the two young women, who have a double claim to my regard, as they have lost their father."



Towards the close of April, 1790, Paul Jones crossed over to London for the purpose of settling some accounts growing out of an advance of money which he had made to Dr. Bancroft, from his share of the recovered prize-money, to enable that gentleman to execute a project which he had undertaken of introducing the Quercitron bark among the English woollen dyers. It appears that Jones was interested in the speculation, which had probably been successful, as he now received eighteen hundred pounds sterling for half of his share of the proceeds, and an equal sum was subsequently deposited to his credit with a London banker. He mentions, in a letter of this period, that he escaped being murdered on landing in England; but does not mention the cause or circumstances. Jones seemed always to feel apprehensive of personal violence in visiting London. Popular belief had surrounded him with attributes there, which rendered him an object of hatred and terror. His picture was usually displayed, in the lower class of print shops, among those of the most noted pirates; and one picture

of him, which was thus seen by Mr. Fanning, one of his midshipmen in the *Richard*, represented him completely encircled by pistols sticking in his belt, besides one in each hand, which he presented in the act of firing at two persons kneeling at his feet, while a third had just fallen dead before him. Mr. Fanning supposed this to be a popular exaggeration of what occurred on board the *Richard*, when the three forward-officers cried to the *Serapis* for quarter.

The question naturally enough occurs, why Jones, who ever expressed in writing to his relations so much solicitude for their welfare, should not have improved the occasion, offered by some one of his visits to England, to go to Scotland, and renew in person his acquaintance with his family. But it does not appear that he ever visited England but on urgent business, and then he remained unknown in the vast solitude of the capital. His stay was always the briefest that his affairs would permit, and he seems ever to have been haunted with the idea of hatred on the part of the people, and the apprehension that it might

pass into violence. The rancor with which he ever expressed himself towards his native country, his boasting that "though born in Britain he did not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which he at once lamented and despised," could not be natural. His feelings may have owed something of their intensity to the bitterness with which the British press had denounced him; but they doubtless were not a little quickened by inward misgivings as to the nobleness of his own course. If, then, he reluctantly visited London, where he was little known, and where seclusion was so easy, with how much more reluctance must he have contemplated a visit to the immediate country of his birth, and the home at once of his youth and of his early manhood, whose coasts he had selected as the favorite scene of his ravages. That Paul Jones did not, therefore, personally visit his kinsmen, and while receiving their embraces, encounter the contumelious frowns of his early friends and patrons, is no proof of his failing in affection to his family. He always maintained a correspondence with them, and for-

warded occasional remittances to them from his hard-won earnings.

Towards the close of May, Paul Jones returned to Paris. In the following July he addressed Potemkin in a very long and labored vindication of his conduct while commanding in the Liman, coupled with complaints of the manner in which the essential services which he then rendered had been requited. He reminded the Prince of his injunction at parting; "Rely upon my attachment! I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present and for the future." He now told the Prince that he relied upon his attachment, because he knew him to be just and a lover of truth. He relied upon it, because he felt himself to be worthy of it. Time, he said, would teach the Prince that he was neither a mountebank nor a swindler, meaning that he was not like the Prince of Nassau, to whom he delighted to apply those epithets, but a true and loyal man. He stated that in all his relations with Potemkin he had committed but two faults. The first was in not requiring the complete command of all the

naval forces in the Liman, and *carte blanche*; the second was in having allowed himself to write to Potemkin under feelings of irritation. Paul Jones then insisted that he, under the orders of Potemkin, had conducted all the useful naval operations in the Liman; he had beaten the Pacha on the 7th of June, conquered him again on the 17th, and captured his finest ships; on the 1st of July he had boarded the Turkish galleys under the fire of the batteries of Oczakow; finally, he had first suggested to Suwaroff, as that general always had the nobleness to admit, the erection of the battery on the point of Kinburn, which proved so fatally destructive to the Turks. While he had performed all these services without promotion, rewards of all sorts were showered on those who remained at a distance from danger. The practical purport of the Rear-Admiral's letter was to claim the decoration of the order of St. George, to which the victory of the 17th of June entitled him, to call Potemkin's attention to some of the naval projects which he had laid before the government on previous occasions, and finally to



offer his services for their execution, or for any service, that might be required of him in the prosecution of the war; in conclusion, he informed the Prince, that the Congress of the United States had unanimously granted him a gold medal, to commemorate the service which he had rendered the United States in the capture of the *Serapis*. He said that Congress had ordered a copy of this medal to be presented to every sovereign and academy of Europe, with the exception of those of Great Britain; suggested the probability of Potemkin's being numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty which he was about concluding with Turkey; and offered the Prince a copy of his medal in any event, provided it would be acceptable to the Prince as a mark of his attachment to his person.

The letter which follows in the published collections of his correspondence, is far more creditable to his character, as well as his heart. It was addressed to his favorite sister, Mrs. Taylor, and was perhaps rendered more touch-

ing by the declining condition of his health. His constitution, shattered by exposure in every climate from his earliest years, and worn by the chafings of an ardent and impatient temperament, throughout the course of a precarious career, checkered by alternate exultation and disappointment, was rapidly yielding to decay, and pains and ailments were ushering in the fatal moment, which should put an end to all his schemes of enterprise, and aspirations for glory. It is in such seasons, when the mind loses its ability to conceive, and the arm its vigor to execute, that ambition relinquishes its hold, and the heart, forgetting all that has intervened, wanders back to seek comfort in its early affections. The moment was well suited for Jones to appreciate the value of family affection, and to prompt him to the benevolent effort of reconciling his sisters, who, it seems, were at variance with each other. After speaking of his own illness, he thus eloquently urges their reconciliation. "I shall not conceal from you, that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters, whose

happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that mutual tenderness and affection, which would do so much honor to themselves, and to the memory of their worthy relations. Permit me to recommend to your serious study and application, Pope's 'Universal Prayer.' You will find more morality in that little piece, than in many volumes that have been written by great divines ;

‘Teach me to feel another’s woe,  
To hide the fault I see ;  
That mercy I to others show,  
Such mercy show to me !’

This is not the language of a weak, superstitious mind, but the spontaneous offspring of true religion, springing from a heart sincerely inspired by charity, and deeply impressed with a sense of the calamities and frailties of human nature. If the sphere in which Providence has placed us as members of society, requires the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity towards our neighbour in general, how much more is this our duty, with respect to individuals, with whom we are connected by the near and tender ties of nature, as well

as moral obligation. Every lesser virtue may pass away, but charity comes from heaven, and is immortal. Though I wish to be the instrument of making family peace, which I flatter myself would promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings, by taking any step that is contrary to your own judgment and inclination. Your reconciliation must come free from your heart, otherwise it will not last, and therefore it will be better not to attempt it. Should a reconciliation take place, I recommend it of all things, that you never mention past grievances, nor show by word, look, or action, that you have not forgot them."

## CHAPTER XIX.

Jones's last Efforts to return to the Russian Service. — Proposes a New Method of constructing Ships. — Declining Condition of his Health. — Interests himself in the Liberation of American Captives in Algiers. — Advances Claims against France for Wages of the Richard's Crew. — Resisted by the Minister of Marine. — Jones becomes seriously ill. — His last Moments. — Makes his Will. — Dies. — A Commission for him to treat for the Liberation of Algerine Captives arrives. — His Burial. — Funeral Oration.

IN March of 1791, we find Paul Jones again eagerly seeking to renew his connexion with Russia, by solicitations to the Empress Catharine, to whom he now forwarded copies of documents relating to the campaign of the Liman. He had been led to believe, that his letter and journal addressed to her from Warsaw, had been intercepted by some of those who were criminated in it, and had never reached her hand. It is more likely, that the Empress had dismissed from her mind all idea of again employing Jones; though he was better pleased to attribute her neglect of him to the interference of enemies. He therefore invited her attention anew to one of his naval



projects, and tendered his services, as usual, to carry it into execution. He begged to be soon withdrawn from the painful inaction and uncertainty of his present position. The last appeal which Paul Jones made to the justice of the Empress, or to be again employed in her marine, was early in the following July, through Baron Grimm, who corresponded directly with her, and filled for her, at Paris, the post of secret agent and spy, catering at the same time for her tastes in the current literature and scandal of the day, and for the interests of her empire. Paul Jones opened his communication to the Baron, by the customary tender of a copy of his bust. He then went on to lay before the Baron, for the information of the Empress, the project of a man whom he had known fifteen years, who had just invented a new construction of ships of war, possessing the following notable advantages. They were to cost less than the old ships, have a more majestic and imposing appearance, sail nearer the wind, furnish more space for the accommodation of the crew, protect them better during an engagement, and be less annoyed by smoke.

Jones knew nothing of the mode by which all these rare advantages were to be obtained, but said, that a long time before, he had, in conjunction with his friend Dr. Franklin, endeavoured to devise a mode of constructing ships, to navigate without ballast, draw less water than the old ships, and at the same time drive less to leeward. He said that the Doctor and he had always encountered great obstacles; as well, indeed, they might. Since the death of that great philosopher, having too much time on his hands, he had surmounted the difficulties which before had baffled their united researches. Jones stated that the ship-builder, in whose favor he wrote, had proposed going to England, where his invention would probably have been adopted; but that he, Jones, had persuaded him to offer it first to the Empress. With regard to what his own feeble genius had accomplished in naval architecture, he offered it to the Empress freely and without stipulation. This, notwithstanding his deprecating apology for his feeble genius, he did not consider very trifling; for he said, he believed he had dis-

covered the secret of mounting, on a ship of his proposed construction, five batteries of the heaviest calibre. He might well ask if this would not be of immense advantage to the infant marine of the Black Sea, and to the prosperity of the Russian empire.

Baron Grimm forwarded these propositions to the Empress, but neither the empirical pretensions of Jones's friend, or his own, which he was too good a sailor to have believed in himself, and which he could only have adopted as a bait to procure for him a recall, produced any favorable effect upon his fortunes. The Empress did indeed reply to Grimm, concerning Paul Jones's suggestions. She mentioned that a general peace was probable ; and that if she should hereafter have occasion for the active services of her Rear-Admiral, she would communicate directly with him. These various rejections of his offers to return to Russia, led him about this time to speak of resigning his commission, as a rear-admiral ; but he could scarcely have seriously meditated it, as he clung tenaciously to the title, and had taken care to add his decoration of the

Order of St. Anne to those of Cincinnatus and of Military Merit, which already adorned the busts of himself, which he so profusely distributed. In a letter of this period to Lafayette, he speaks of some fur-linings which he had brought from Russia, and which he sent to Lafayette with a request that he would offer part of them to the King as a trifling mark of attachment to his person. He said that when his health should be reëstablished, M. de Simolin would do him the honor to present him to the King, as a Russian admiral; after which, it would be his duty to wait on the King as an American officer, with the letter of which Congress had made him the bearer on his last departure from the United States.

The reëstablished health, on which Paul Jones's appearance at the French court depended, never came, and he was thus both spared the painful sympathy, which the altered position of the King, now carried forward on those tumultuous waves of revolutionary excitement which were to bear him to a tragical end, must have awakened in one whom he

had honored, and the temptation which his ardent temperament might have betrayed him into, of embarking in the desperate struggle. Notwithstanding his past familiar use of the words liberty, equality, and universal philanthropy, it is not unlikely that his sympathy with the court itself, and some of the individuals who surrounded it, as well as his professional abhorrence of popular violence and mob law, of which he had seen something in the *Ranger* and the *Alliance*, would have led him to range himself among the defenders of the throne. Fanning mentions that Paul Jones went about this time, with all the Americans in Paris, to the Constituent Assembly, over which the King presided, to compliment him and the nation on their glorious revolution, on which occasion Jones delivered an eloquent address on behalf of his countrymen. As his health was rapidly failing, and no mention of the circumstance is found among his papers, the statement is probably incorrect. Meantime he continued to preserve his relations with the United States, through the medium of his former friends, and especially of Mr. Jefferson,



who had become Secretary of State. He intimated that he still considered himself an American officer, by requesting Mr. Jefferson to obtain leave for him to wear the decoration of the Russian Order of St. Anne.

About this time he encountered an Algerine, who, as captain of a corsair, had taken most of the American prisoners now detained in Algiers. From him he received accounts of the destitute condition of these unhappy men, whom their country had failed to protect from capture while in the prosecution of their lawful business, and whom it had made no effort to relieve. The corsair informed him that if these captives were not soon ransomed they would receive the same treatment as the most abject slaves. Paul Jones seems ever to have had a heart peculiarly alive to the helpless condition of captive sailors, which no one of his time did more to relieve. He wrote to Mr. Jefferson to say how painfully he was affected by the condition of these unhappy men. Had he lived long enough, he would have learned that his petition in favor of these captives had been heard ; and would have

enjoyed the satisfaction, so dear to him, of removing their chains.

The disease under which Paul Jones, with much resistance from a constitution of great natural vigor, was gradually wasting away, appears to have been a complication of liver complaint and dropsy. Though his bodily activity was gone, his mind retained its vigor. He continued his correspondence, and, in the opening of 1792, revived a claim against the French government for wages due to the crew of the *Poor Richard*. His own portion of this claim he estimated at seven thousand livres. He had received nothing from the French government, either as the commander of the ship, or for the expenses of his table. He had certainly been paid by Congress, as a captain in the navy, during this time ; but his services were lent to France during this period, and as the expedition cruised entirely at the expense of the King, he might perhaps with propriety claim to be paid by him also for services out of the line of his ordinary duty.

M. Bertrand, then Minister of Marine, re-

plied that the same subject had been under consideration by M. de Castries, in 1784, on a similar demand from Paul Jones. That minister then decided, that only the wages due to the American portion of the crew should be paid to Jones, and fifteen thousand livres were paid accordingly, under a guaranty from Jones's banker that it should be properly appropriated. The minister stated that no further sums could be paid on the same account, until the mode in which the fifteen thousand livres had been disbursed was first explained; and he therefore asked for a detailed statement of the particulars, with the corresponding vouchers, as Jones could only be indemnified for what he had advanced of his own funds, and not for what had been paid on the arrival of the crew in the United States. This Jones says was paid by his order, but leaves it apparently purposely in doubt whether it was from his own purse.

The letter of M. Bertrand seems very plain and reasonable. It served, however, in Jones's weak and irritable condition, to throw him into frantic rage, in which he penned a long, vio-

lent, and rambling reply, containing a long story of all his connexion with the French court, and all the griefs which had attended it. The letter does not throw much additional light on the claim, or vindicate the justice of it, nor does it account at all for the disbursement of the fifteen thousand livres advanced to him on account of the crew of the *Richard*, concerning which the minister asked for explanation and vouchers. It is almost entirely occupied with the relation of his own achievements, and the ingratitude with which they were requited, and is, in short, an exaggerated eulogium of himself, coupled with a little denunciation of almost every one else. In the course of the letter he thus denounces the former Minister of Marine, the Maréchal de Castries; "But the shuffling of a man who can forfeit his word of honor, solemnly pledged; who, to hide his disgrace, dares use the name of his sovereign for protection; the pitiful evasions of such a man cannot surprise one who has for many years been accustomed to the baseness and duplicity of some attached to courts." Of himself he

speaks in the following very different strain ;  
“I pray you, Sir, to lay this letter before the King. It contains many things out of the general rule of delicacy which marks my proceedings, and which, on any other occasion less affecting to my sensibility, would never have escaped from my pen.” Again, in announcing his intention of appearing at court to present the letter from Congress, he says ;  
“As I have hitherto been the dupe and victim of my modesty, and especially as you appear to make no account of my services and sacrifices, I am persuaded I shall gain much by increasing the number of my judges.” As his health declined and bodily strength failed, his disposition to disparage others and to glorify himself, the great error of his character, which had so injuriously affected his fortunes, and stirred up for him so many enemies, grew more inveterate. The violent letter to the minister was not however sent to M. Bertrand, as he was soon after driven from office by the troubles of the times. That it might not be lost, and also to give a specimen of his more tragic vein, he enclosed it, with a copy



of the letter to which it was an answer, to the new minister. It does not appear that Jones recovered the amount of this claim, though something was subsequently obtained by his heirs from the French government, on account of his own share of the arrears of pay which he demanded. A temporary want of funds, from inability at that moment to command his resources, rendered him more urgent in his demand.

This correspondence took place in March. Soon after, his disease began to assume a more serious character; he lost his appetite, grew yellow, and became affected with jaundice. Under medical treatment, he gradually grew better, until the beginning of July, when his system seemed to fail entirely, and he became suddenly worse. The dropsy now began to manifest itself more openly; his legs first became much swollen; and the enlargement subsequently extended upwards, so that he could not button his waistcoat; he breathed, too, with difficulty. His disease had now assumed the character of dropsy in the chest. In this helpless condition, and fast verging towards

the closing scene of his turbulent career, it is a satisfaction to know, that Paul Jones was not, as has been represented, a prey to poverty and want. He was comfortably lodged, and his means enabled him to secure the attendance of the Queen's physician. Nor was he friendless at a moment when friends are most valuable. It appears, that his last moments were cheered by the presence of several kind acquaintances, among whom were a French officer by the name of Beaupoil, a Colonel Blackden, and Gouverneur Morris, who had recently received the appointment of minister to the court of France.

Colonel Blackden, who has left the most particular account of his last moments, in a letter to the Admiral's sister, Mrs. Taylor, having for some days noticed the rapid decline of his strength, assumed the friendly, though painful duty of advising him to settle his affairs. This he put off until the 18th of July, when Mr. Gouverneur Morris drew up a schedule of his property, from his dictation while in a dying state. This schedule exhibited various items of bank stock, loan office certifi-

cates, amounts in bankers' hands, arrearages of pay and prize-money from Russia, and of his pension from Denmark, besides lands in Ohio, Indiana, and Vermont, which, after making due allowance for bad speculation and bad debts, must still have left an estate of from twenty to thirty thousand dollars.\* After completing the schedule, two notaries were sent for, and the dying man proceeded to make his will. It was drawn by Mr. Morris, in English, and then written down in French by the notaries. The opening clause of it is interesting, as exhibiting a picture of the circumstances by which Paul Jones was surrounded in the last moments of his life, and of the dwellingplace which he exchanged only for the final one of the grave. It will be observed, that the near approach of death had at last destroyed his veneration for titles and orders, and the pride with which he reflected on his own. He is no longer Admiral, or Chevalier, but simply a "citizen of the United States."

"Before the undersigned, notaries at Paris,

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\* See note at the end of the volume.

appeared Mr. John Paul Jones, citizen of the United States of America, resident at Paris, lodged in the Street of Tournon, No. 42, at the house of Mr. Dorberque, huissier audiancier of the tribunal of the third arrondissement, found in a parlour in the first story above the floor, lighted by two windows, opening in the said Street of Tournon, sitting in an arm-chair, sick of body, but sound of mind, memory, and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries by his discourse and conversation; who in view of death has made, dictated, and worded, to the undersigned notaries, his testament as follows:”

“I give and bequeath all the goods, as well movable as heritable, and all, generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country it may be situated, to my two sisters, Janette, spouse to William Taylor, and Mary, wife to Mr. Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said sisters and their children shall make up individuals.” The will went on to provide, that the children should receive their portions on coming

of age, until which time the mothers should enjoy it, with charge to provide their children with maintenance and education. If any of the children died before they should be of age, their portions were to be divided equally among all the rest. Robert Morris was named the sole testamentary executor.\*

The will being completed, was signed about eight o'clock in the evening, and his friends, after witnessing it, withdrew, leaving him still seated in his arm-chair. Not long after, the physician arrived to make his customary visit. The arm-chair was found vacant, and there were no signs of the patient in the parlour. On going to his bed-room which adjoined, he was found lying upon his face on the bedside, with his feet resting on the floor. On turning him over, it was found that he was dead.

Had Jones survived a few days longer, he would have found that the country which he

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\* After Paul Jones's death, his sister, Mrs. Taylor, went to Paris. She obtained a partial payment of her brother's claim for pay as commander of the *Richard*. She also secured his papers and other effects, and after witnessing some of the worst horrors of the French revolution, returned safely to Scotland.



had remembered in his last moments, and of which, unmindful of his titles and honors from other lands, he claimed as his only distinction in his will, to be a citizen, had not forgotten him. He would have found, that the honorable solicitude which he had expressed for his unfortunate countrymen, groaning in captivity at Algiers, had awakened a corresponding feeling in the government at home, and led to his appointment as a commissioner, to treat with the regency of Algiers, for the ransom of all captive Americans, and for the establishment of peace. This consolation, which would have been grateful to his spirit, he was not destined to enjoy.

On the 20th of July, being the second day after his death, the remains of Paul Jones were placed in a leaden coffin, for the convenience of their removal, in case the United States should ever claim them for burial, and conducted to their last resting-place, followed by a respectable concourse, among whom were twelve members of the National Assembly. These attended in virtue of the following resolution: "The National Assembly, desir-

ous of honoring the memory of Paul Jones, Admiral of the United States of America, and to preserve, by a memorable example the equality of religious rites, decrees that twelve of its members shall assist at the funeral rites of a man, who has so well served the cause of liberty." After the interment of his remains, the following funeral oration was pronounced over them by M. Marron, a French protestant clergyman. It evinces the prevalent desire in all ages, to turn calamities of this sort to account, and in excited times, especially, to render them politically useful.

"Legislators! citizens! soldiers! brethren! and Frenchmen! We have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of the liberty of America; of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the north had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism; he preferred the sweets of private life in France, now free, to the eclat of titles and honors, which from an usurped throne were lavished upon him by

Catharine. But the fame of the brave man survives; his portion is immortality. And what more flattering homage can we offer to the manes of Paul Jones, than to swear on his tomb to live or to die free? Let this be the vow and watchword of every Frenchman!

“Let neither tyrants nor their satellites ever pollute this sacred earth! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, enjoy here an undisturbed repose! May his example teach posterity the efforts, which noble souls are capable of making, when stimulated by hatred to oppression.

“Friends and brethren! a noble emulation brightens in your looks; your time is precious; your country is in danger! Who amongst us would not shed the last drop of his blood to save it? Identify yourself with the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating his contempt of danger, his devotion to his country, and the noble heroism, which after having astonished the present age, will continue to call forth the veneration of ages yet to come.”

## CHAPTER XX.

Review of Jones's Life. — Sketch of his Character. — His Qualifications for War. — Qualities of his Mind. — Skill as a Writer. — Habits of Study and Self-Culture. — Prone to Flattery. — Naturally arrogant. — Contentious. — Sarcastic and contemptuous. — Abounding in Vanity. — Allowed no Participation of Glory. — Never praised his Subordinates. — His Crews not attached to Him. — His Achievements on that Account more difficult. — Taste for Expense. — Doubtful Veracity. — Exaggeration. — Manners. — Address as a Courtier. — Defects caused by Education. — Personal Appearance. — Conclusion.

IN the course of the foregoing pages, we have seen Paul Jones, after being cradled in obscurity and humbly nurtured, enter, when only twelve years old, without encouragement or protection, upon a career which, in the vast majority of cases, conducts only to the servile and toilsome existence of the common seaman. By the force of his character, he rose rapidly in this profession, and attained its highest stations, at an unusually early age. Sedulously employing his leisure moments in study, he readily overcame the disadvantages of his education, so as always to appear creditably in the position to which his own energy had advanced him. Having no further

distinction to win in his old career, fortuitous circumstances connected with his visit to America, and the breaking out of our revolutionary war, opened to him a fresh field for distinction. Upon this he entered with ardor. It was a civil war, and he felt free, like other born Britons, whose honor has never been questioned, to take part with those of his fellow-countrymen, whom he believed to be in the right. The struggle, moreover, found him a resident of America, and his feelings were those of the country in which he lived. Resolute, intelligent, indefatigable, brave, he soon rose to rank and distinction, until at length by a victory, unsurpassed in the annals of naval warfare, he placed his name among the first of naval heroes. He had been the first to hoist the flag of liberty over an American cruiser; the first to carry war into the enemy's waters, to surprise her shores, and to check her devastating inroads, by showing that she was also assailable. The meditated and attempted capture of the *Drake*, in a British harbour, was a conception of the highest daring, and her subsequent capture by an inferior



force, within sight of the three United Kingdoms, was as brilliant an achievement as any in naval history. To the taking of the *Serapis*, no commentary can do justice. The simple narration of the combat can alone afford any conception of the heroism displayed by Paul Jones, on that memorable occasion. To these victories, obtained by his valor, and to his solicitude for suffering captives, all the American seamen languishing in the studied and inhuman torments of English imprisonment, owed their release. To the sympathy excited among the people of Amsterdam by his heroism, and to the assistance which this sympathy led them to extend to his ships, was owing the subsequent breach between England and Holland, and an important accession of strength to our cause. The liberation of imprisoned American seamen having become a passion with him, led him to make and repeat the suggestion which at length occasioned the deliverance of our fellow-countrymen from Algerine bondage. These were among the services which he rendered to his adopted country. Her gratitude was first shown by

conferring upon him the command of her only line-of-battle ship; by a solemn and unanimous vote of thanks from Congress, and by causing a medal to be struck in honor of his achievements.

The independence of the United States being consummated, the service of his adopted country offered no sufficient field for the employment of his energies, and he yielded to the invitation tendered to him by an illustrious sovereign, to lend his arm in a warfare to be urged against a foe, whom the prejudices of Christians place beyond the pale of their sympathies. After serving usefully the cause in which he embarked, intrigue and jealousy drove him from his post, and calumny at length effected this expulsion from the despotic soil, where he was so ill suited to flourish. He retired reluctantly from the country, in which he had vainly hoped to have added to his honors, and the lustre that already surrounded his name. Defeated in the hope of being permitted to return to it, his shattered frame yielded to the chafing of his irritable and impatient spirit, and he died a victim of wasting cares and disappointed ambition.

The character of Paul Jones was composed of great and brilliant qualities blended with glaring defects. He was ambitious of distinction and glory to the utmost extreme that this feeling can be carried. He had in perfection that element of a great and creative mind, which gives power to conceive projects of national importance, involving extensive combinations necessary to success, and drawing after them important consequences. Enterprising and ingenious, wholly free from apprehension of every sort in the conception of his daring schemes, he was calmly and imperturbably brave in their execution. He did not rush headlong and with frantic rage into battle, desperate as was usually the character of his engagements; but coolly, and with a deliberate estimate of all the means of success, and a determination to use them to the utmost.

Nor had he merely the power to frame and execute important projects, and conceive powerful thoughts, but great felicity in conveying his ideas forcibly to others. He wrote with exceeding clearness and vigor, and pos-

sessed in an eminent degree the merit, so uncommon among us, of conciseness; of expressing forcible ideas in few and meaning words. None could better set forth whatever he had to say of interest to others or to himself, or better vindicate his claim to notice and attention. This faculty he owed, of course, to his own industry alone. In the midst of the most active pursuits, he ever sedulously kept up a taste for study and self-improvement, which enabled him to do more than make up for the defects of his early education, and place himself in information far above the level of those who were found in the same sphere with himself. He valued time as it deserves. When not engaged in the pursuit of glory, he was fortifying himself by study for future achievements, or recording those which were past. His industry, indeed, was unwearied; and his example may be offered as a useful lesson to those who follow the same profession, and who in the intervals of their duties have so many unemployed hours, which may be devoted to improvement, of which the good effects will be felt throughout their career.

Paul Jones owed to his native country and his humble station in it, his obsequiousness to those who were above him, or from whom he had something to ask. This propensity, however, was not naturally congenial to his haughty and intractable character. He was willing enough to succeed in any object by the appropriate use of adulation in his intercourse with the great; but he never was restrained by any undue awe of them from speaking his mind freely where he suspected any disposition to trifle with him. The natural arrogance of his disposition and his impatience of control, predisposed him, on the contrary, to trample on opposition and resist any interference with his plans. The slightest obstruction in his path, the least injustice, real or fancied, rendered him frantic; instead of quiet remonstrance, he resorted at once to furious denunciation, and too often succeeded in making an enemy for life. To this infirmity of disposition may be attributed his misunderstanding with Le Ray de Chaumont, a gentleman to whom his country owed much, and he himself not a little. It was this gen-



tleman who procured him the command of the expedition fitted out under the American flag by the King of France. M. de Chaumont furnished part of the funds for this expedition from his private fortune. Yet Paul Jones contrived, very unnecessarily, to quarrel with him. The consequences recoiled upon himself. He was thwarted in the equipment of the ships, and hampered by the concordat ; and the objects of the expedition were intrusted to the subordinate commanders, with whom Jones's opposition threw De Chaumont into contact. A ground-work of insubordination was thus laid which was fatal to most of the objects of the cruise, the character of which was only redeemed at the close by Jones's heroism in the capture of the *Serapis*. Paul Jones carried with him, moreover, everywhere a dangerous weapon in an indiscreet tongue. This fomented his disagreement with De Chaumont. It was probably the real secret of his disgrace with Potemkin. He was reported to have complained of the tardiness with which this spoiled favorite and barbaric hero prosecuted the siege of Oczakow. He denied

the allegation ; but it was in his character to have done what was charged against him. He was prone, moreover, to personal contention ; yet indisposed to settle his disputes by personal conflicts. Calmly satisfied in the consciousness of his own courage, he reserved it for encounters more likely to contribute to his fame. The natural haughtiness of his disposition evinced itself in his association with his officers. He was too conscious of his superiority in all respects over them. He did not correct or reprove in a way to produce reformation, without wounding the feelings ; but with sarcasm and contempt.

The glaring defect of Paul Jones's character, and the foundation of many others, was his abounding vanity. This evinced itself in the stress which he laid on the honors he had received from kings and congresses, and which, though not unmerited, were in no slight degree drawn forth by his own well-applied solicitation ; in the multiplication of his busts and medals ; and the constant recapitulation, with due exaggeration, of his various achievements. No hero, indeed, ever

sounded his own trumpet more unremittingly or with a louder blast. This absorbing vanity led him to claim for himself the whole glory of his victories. In all his elaborate reports of his engagements, except indeed during his Russian campaign, where the slight passed upon his officers became a reflection on himself, he is the hero, and the sole hero, of his own tale. The only occasion on which he commends any of his officers, is in small notes at the foot of each of their certificates appended to his charges against Landais, and where his object is to give force to their testimony. It may be said in excuse, that this vanity of distinction, which was the cause of his injustice, in restraining him from giving credit to others, was also the exciting motive of his actions, by so powerfully stimulating him to excel. Still, his unwillingness to commend others and award to each of his followers his just meed of praise, was a very great fault. A commander can have no more sacred duty than that which he owes in this respect to those who, even in the humblest stations, contribute to his glory.

To this disposition of Paul Jones to disparage others and to glorify himself, we must look for the frequent evidence which his life affords, of a want of sympathy between him and his officers and crew, and the total absence of any evidence on their part of affectionate attachment to his person. His followers evince, on the contrary, a distrust of his character, and a want of confidence in his justice, even with regard to the distribution of the proceeds of their prizes. It is not unlikely that his original training in the English merchant service, where the seamen, having all been subjected to the stern discipline of the King's ships, are insubordinate and uncontrollable when released from it, and where every voyage almost is a prolonged contest between the master and his crew, may have tended to implant in him a feeling of hostility towards seamen, and a disposition to extract from them the greatest amount of services at the least expense of rewards. His not being an American by birth may have also operated against him in the affections of his crew, though not a great deal, as many of

his seamen were also foreigners. This want of sympathy with his crew was in fact Paul Jones's greatest defect as a naval officer. In one respect, however, it does not detract from his glory; for it stripped him of a powerful aid, and rendered every achievement more difficult and more completely his own.

As an officer, Paul Jones seems to have had correct notions of discipline, and usually succeeded in enforcing it in his ships, except in cases where some rooted cause of discontent, growing out of the poverty of the government and its irregularity in the payment of wages, or his own neglect, had excited among his crews a mutinous disposition. They were generally composed of incongruous materials, and made up of many nations, especially in the ships fitted out in France. His industry, habits of order, and neatness, were conspicuous in the condition of his ships. They were always kept in admirable order and made a fine appearance. As part of the daily etiquette of his ships, he always had two or three of his officers to dine with him, among whom were usually one or more mid-



shipmen. They were expected to appear neatly dressed, and in this he always set them the example. If there was any defect in this particular, the individual was sure to be made aware in some way of his displeasure. If we are to believe an anecdote of Fanning, who was a midshipman in the *Richard*, Paul Jones was sometimes sufficiently capricious in his hospitalities. Having on one occasion had a dispute with one of his lieutenants, a thing not unusual, as he was very rigorous and somewhat hard to please, he got into a rage, ordered the lieutenant below, and assisted him with a couple of kicks as he was descending the ladder. Reflecting soon after, however, that he had done more than the occasion called for, he sent his servant to invite the sufferer to dinner, and strangely enough, as the story goes, the lieutenant consented to come. Paul Jones's lieutenants were appointed by himself and almost entirely the creatures of his will. Even this, however, will hardly account for such an exercise of forbearance. The anecdote, if exaggerated, is still characteristic of Jones and of his fitful temperament.

Paul Jones is represented, by those who sailed with him, to have been a thorough seaman. This evidence is amply borne out by the history of his various cruises, and by his remarks on the qualities of the different ships in which he sailed, the more or less critical positions in which they were placed, and the manner in which he extricated them. Early training and long experience had occasioned him to see ships in every possible situation. He knew exactly what could be done with them; and was both skilful and daring in the execution of his manœuvres. This quality he exhibited usefully in the battle with the *Serapis*, when his only chance for victory, in the decayed and sinking *Richard*, over a ship of superior force, was in laying her aboard, and referring the issue of the struggle to the superior courage and obstinacy of the commanders.

Among the defects of Paul Jones's character, was a taste for luxury, display, and profuse expense. This led him to reserve from the prize-money of his crew, an undue share for himself. For two years and seven months,

that he was employed at Paris, in recovering the prize-money for the American part of the crews of his squadron, he charged his expenses at nearly forty-eight thousand livres. In the letter of bitter denunciation which Paul Jones, just two months before his death, wrote to the French Minister of Finance, he states, that he was detained four years in Europe, in recovering the prize-money due from the French court for prizes which it had purchased, and that in that time, he had spent sixty thousand livres of his money, and had only received thirteen thousand livres for his share of the prizes. He intimates of course, that he received nothing more. He thus implies what is untrue in the last part of his assertion, after having stated what was palpably untrue in the first. We cannot, indeed, award to Paul Jones the crowning virtue of veracity. In whatever concerned himself, his achievements, or his services, he gave way to gross exaggeration. His letters evince perpetual instances of the manner in which he would magnify his position, and the estimation in which he was held in one country, in order to promote his elevation in another.

er. As he passed from one side of the Atlantic to the other, he contrived to fortify himself with fresh credentials, so as to gain new impulse from each rebound. By whatever means, however, he succeeded in advancing himself, he always proved himself worthy of the station which he attained.

The manners of Paul Jones, like his education, were formed by himself upon his own model. They were doubtless advantageously affected at a very early age, notwithstanding his rude associations on shipboard, by the refining nature of the studies, which in every situation he so diligently pursued. Very soon after his entry into our naval service, we find him boldly asserting pretensions, which there must have been external circumstances to justify. In appealing from the injustice which had been done to him, by superseding him in rank, in favor of thirteen officers who had entered the service after him, he says: "Among these thirteen, there are individuals who can neither pretend to parts nor education, and with whom as a private gentleman, I would disdain to associate." This was not the way

to make friends, though it shows, that he was conscious of no defect in his manners.

When his victories had opened the French court to him, he was not doubtless without success in assimilating himself with those, by whom he found himself surrounded. Though he on one occasion pronounced himself "a man of delicacy in every thing," and on another, complained of having been "the dupe and victim of his modesty," there is little reason to believe, that he was kept back by an embarrassing diffidence. On board ship, he harangued his officers and crew when occasion required it, with great force and eloquence; and no doubt, he could talk glibly enough on shore. Endowed with a perfect self-composure and carrying on his shoulders an ingenious and well-furnished head, he had little difficulty in making his way in society, and sustaining himself there long after he had ceased to be a novelty. Though his manners are said to have been somewhat conceited and foppish, they could not have been unpleasing, much less rude or brutal, as they have been sometimes represented. Nor was he wanting in elegant



tastes. He was fond of music, and is said to have performed pleasingly on the flute ; a very common accomplishment indeed among naval officers, but which Paul Jones had probably cultivated for years with his characteristic assiduity. He wrote verses also, which were read with pleasure, and which ladies did not disdain to have addressed to them. The eclat of his naval victories over the common enemy of America and France, prepared for him a favorable reception at the French capital, which his appearance and manners did not at all tend to diminish. With the gayeties of the court, there is reason to believe, that he also shared in its gallantries, which the prevailing immorality rendered so contagious. As a courtier exerting himself for the advancement of objects, in which his interests or his pride were concerned, Paul Jones was far from unskilful. He did not, however, keep always to the beaten track in the pursuit of his objects. When obsequiousness and submission failed, the vivacity of his temper led him to break through the barriers that were placed in his way, and bring whatever nego-

tiation he had in hand, to a direct and speedy issue. Nor was this abruptness, though it occasionally failed, as in Russia, after his disgrace was already determined, always unproductive of success.

After all, it may well be doubted whether the defects of Paul Jones were not rather those of education and circumstance, than of heart. The rudeness of his early life, the absence of early friends to watch with solicitude over his career, to check what was evil and commend the good, the blunting effects of his ship life, and the demoralization of the slave-trade, were all fruitful causes of moral deterioration. After he entered our naval service, he labored under some disadvantage in being a foreigner, which his disposition did not lead him to overcome. He had also to contend against the irregularities of a new and ill-established service. Had he entered the British navy with the early advantages of Nelson, with the sympathy, interest, and observation of anxious friends to follow him in his remotest wanderings, enjoying the early lessons of honor taught in a chivalrous profession, and

relieved, as he advanced in distinction, from the bickerings and jealousies of an uncertain position, there is no reason to doubt that he would have attained to an equal eminence. He certainly was not inferior to Nelson in courage; nor was he inferior to him in genius. We will not say that he would ever have been so well beloved by his associates. His heart perhaps was less affectionate; his character was more sternly moulded. He does not seem to have cherished a single friendship, beyond the sphere of those who were in a situation to be useful to him. His entire correspondence is occupied with matters connected with the gratification of his ambition; not a single sketch is to be found in it, while rambling through so many lands, of scenery, manners, or any object of ordinary interest. Even his verses were but hymns to his own honor. Of love he seems to have known only the grosser kind, and in that he was a truant. He thought of marriage but as a speculative good, a means of promoting comfort in declining years. Glory was indeed the only true mistress of his idolatry. Still

there was nothing of cruelty in his disposition, though this vice has been ascribed to him. He evinced on many occasions his detestation of it, his sympathy in the sorrows of his fellow-men, and his eager desire to relieve them. This feeling is abundantly evinced in his solicitude for the release of captive Americans.

The personal appearance of Paul Jones is represented as not having been particularly striking or distinguished. He was about five feet and a half high; slightly made, but exceedingly active, and graceful. Confinement on shipboard had rendered him somewhat round shouldered, and given him a perceptible stoop. His frame was naturally vigorous, and capable of enduring great fatigue, exposure, and loss of rest. He had black hair, with dark and piercing eyes, and a naturally brown complexion, rendered extremely swarthy by exposure to weather, and, in his early years, to tropical suns. The habitual expression of his countenance was abstracted, thoughtful, and melancholy; it indicated study and habits of seclusion. In moments of excitement

it bore the impression of intelligence, and lively perception; in battle it was fiercely determined; and sometimes in altercations with his associates or his officers, a dark and scornful sneer would pass over it, which doubtless did not diminish the number of his enemies.

In balancing the merits and defects of Paul Jones, it cannot be denied that the first greatly predominated; nor should we be backward in yielding our esteem to a man, who won by his own exertions, and continued for long years to preserve, the friendship of Franklin, Adams, Robert Morris, Jefferson, and Lafayette; men who knew him intimately, and prized him highly. During our Revolutionary war, no one on the ocean so usefully sustained the great cause of American liberty. Nor was the gratitude of America unfelt or unacknowledged. May she ever, in her future wars, command hearts as devoted, minds as ingenious to conceive enterprises for her honor or defence, and arms as heroic to execute them! With this view we would offer the faults of Paul Jones as a warning beacon to our young officers, and his skill, courage, and conduct, as every way worthy of their imitation.



## NOTES.

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(See p. 54 of Vol. I.)

The French government most unwisely directed the fleet to be equipped at Toulon instead of at Brest, by which more than a month was lost in getting clear of the Mediterranean. When the fleet arrived on our coast, and found that Lord Howe had removed his ships from the Delaware to New York, General Washington sent Colonel Alexander Hamilton with two pilots, to assist D'Estaing in entering the harbour of New York, when it was hoped that the British force being inferior, would easily be overpowered. The pilots, however, after getting on board, gave it as their opinion that the heavier ships could not enter. Had the harbour been as well known as now, through Lieutenant Gedney's discoveries, they would have come to a very different conclusion, and a blow might have been struck, that would have hastened the conclusion of the war.

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(See p. 277 of Vol. II.)

Miss Janette Taylor, niece of Paul Jones, arrived in this country more than ten years ago, for the purpose of soliciting payment of certain sums due to her uncle at his death, by the government of the United States, for interest on money advanced by him for the public service, for unpaid balances of pay and rations, and for his share in the value of the prizes sent into Norway, where they were forcibly taken possession of by the

Danish government, and given up to England, on the ground, that Denmark did not recognise the independence of the United States, and therefore the legality of captures made by our cruisers. Miss Taylor long since presented a memorial to Congress on the subject of these claims; but though she has succeeded at various times in interesting several influential members of Congress in her cause, no bill has yet been introduced for her relief, and she continues at the end of more than ten years, an ineffectual petitioner for justice.

With regard to the claim of the heirs of Paul Jones, to be indemnified for his share of the prizes delivered up by Denmark, its justice has been recognised in the case of Landais, who received from Congress in 1806, four thousand dollars, to be deducted from his portion of whatever might be subsequently recovered from Denmark in satisfaction of these claims. If it was thought proper, thus solemnly to consecrate the principle, that government is bound to see justice done to its citizens by foreign states that have wronged them, in the case of a broken and disgraced officer, how much more strongly is it bound to do equal justice to his superior, who commanded in chief the squadron by which the captures were made, and who had received the solemn thanks of Congress, "for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he had supported the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises, to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States, who had fallen under the power of the enemy; and in general for the good conduct, and eminent services, by which he had added lustre to his character, and to the American arms;" to whom, moreover, a gold medal had been unanimously voted in commemoration of his services?

The prizes sent into Norway were never valued at less than forty thousand pounds sterling. They were scarcely given up by Denmark, before Dr. Franklin re-

monstrated against the injustice and illegality of the proceeding, and claimed the restitution of the ships, or indemnity for their value. In a subsequent negotiation, Denmark offered to pay ten thousand pounds in liquidation of the claim, the justice of which was thus solemnly recognised. Dr. Franklin declined receiving this sum, on the ground, that the value of the prizes should form the just measure of compensation. The claim has often since been insisted upon by our government, and never relinquished. In 1812, the Secretary of State addressed a letter on the subject to the representative of Denmark in this country, who for want of better arguments, got rid of the claim by characterizing it, as "a superannuated and abandoned affair." It has, however, never been abandoned by Congress, before which body the subject has been revived from time to time, by memorials from the descendants of the captors.

This question involves not merely the obligation especially incumbent on a free state of seeing justice done to its citizens, an obligation not diminished in this case, by the fact, that the claim is now made in right of one of our earliest benefactors; it involves also a principle of national honor. We have exacted payment of France and Naples, for unjust spoliations on our commerce. Denmark has also indemnified us for similar spoliations, under the same decrees of Napoleon. The indemnification was, however, expressly limited to "the last maritime war of Denmark." We should claim at once from her, in terms not to be resisted or evaded, full indemnity for these prizes, thus forcibly seized, and given up to our enemies in violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hospitality. Until this demand can be prosecuted to justice, the United States should assume the claim of the remaining captors, and their heirs, as they have already done in the case of Landais, putting none of the former on a worse footing than the basest of their associates.

Two of the captors, John Buckley, second lieutenant of the *Alliance*, and Nathaniel Fanning, a midshipman on board the *Richard*, with possibly one or two others, are still living, though in the course of nature they must soon be beyond the reach of our tardy justice.

This course of at once indemnifying the surviving captors and the heirs of the deceased, has been suggested by Mr. Taliaferro, a member of the committee on Revolutionary claims, to whom Miss Taylor's memorial was last referred. In a letter to Miss Taylor, he thus expresses himself. "In regard to the prizes sent into Denmark, I consider the delay, not to say culpable omission of our government, to have justice done to the captors by Denmark, imposes on us the obligation to satisfy the claimants to those prizes directly, and that our government, not the claimants, should abide the issue of negotiations with Denmark."

Whether Mr. Taliaferro has had an opportunity of urging his just views, and what success has attended them, we have not the means of knowing. The hopes of Miss Taylor, for speedy justice, have been too often deferred, to leave her very sanguine. The annoyance of this lady at her long, wearisome, and fruitless detention in this country may be readily conceived, and should call for the hearty sympathy of those who have the means of advancing her cause. In a brief statement of the condition of her claim, she thus expresses herself with all the point and vigor, which characterize the style of her uncle. "Detaining his representative ten years, in a foreign land, far from her country and her friends, at great inconvenience and considerable expense, is surely a novel mode of raising a monument to the memory of a benefactor."









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